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SENATOR BORAH makes the perfect reply to the proponents of a political truce. Characterizing as an exhibition of "superlative impudence" the suggestion that the progressives have not as keen a sense of responsibility and as intelligent a conception of their duty as the regulars, he declares that he will take part in no filibuster, but that he will not be prevented from giving proper and necessary consideration to the important measures now pending at Washington. "I will pay no attention to any cooked-up effort to stampede the Congress," says the Idaho Senator, and goes on to list the measures that ought to be considered in the short session—among others, in addition to unemployment legislation, the Muscle Shoals bill, the Norris lame-duck resolution, and the anti-injunction bill. If the progressives have any sense of political responsibility they will press the battle all along the line while the regulars are still staggering from their thrashing on November 4. The offer of the seven Democratic leaders shows well enough where they will stand on real questions—shoulder to shoulder with the discredited Hoover cohorts. Let the progressives of both parties, undeterred by dismal threats of depression long drawn out, fight fearlessly for the things they believe in. That is the true progressive answer.

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S Armistice Day speech is a blow at disarmament. It praises the London naval agreement as eliminating competition in naval construction, and contains fair words about peace pacts and treaties, together with hints of the possible implementation of the Kellogg-Briand pact. Having made his bows to peace, the President goes on to assert that we as a nation "cannot contend that there never is or never will be righteous cause for war in the world," and declares that we may not yet "have complete confidence in the full growth of pacific means or rest solely upon the processes of peace for defense." He holds that our best service in times of crisis can be performed "by our good offices and helpfulness free from any advance commitments or entanglements as to the character of our action" —in other words, we are to do as we please—and repeats his ill-received suggestion of immunity for food ships in war time, a suggestion plainly much to our selfish advantage. At Geneva, where the Preparatory Disarmament Commission is engaged in its usual wrangles, Mr. Gibson on our behalf has refused to consent to limitation of land armaments on a budget basis. In the existing state of tension, it is not strange that Mr. Hoover's speech is reported as serving to confirm rather than allay existing fears. What might not a President accomplish who in behalf of the United States should take a strong and fearless position, indicating our willingness to cooperate in disarmament on any genuine basis, and thus assume real leadership in lifting from the world the burden of armaments and the fear of war?

EARLY IN THE CAMPAIGN the President scolded Treasury officials for forecasting a possible deficit this year and suggesting the restoration of the 1 per cent unjustifiably cut from the income-tax rate a year ago. Now, with the campaign disastrously over, even the President can see the possibility of a "slight deficit" by June 30 next, and Senator Smoot says that "restoration of the 1 per cent is imperative." Who was it that characterized the President as an economist and not a politician? The pity of it is that he is not even a good politician. The Senator from Utah talks of a large deficit, which he estimates at perhaps $184,000,000, and suggests using foreign-government debt payments for current expenses instead of the reduction of our own debt. With income-tax receipts sharply cut on account of stock-market losses, and with customs receipts also down, it is plain that the Administration intends to have recourse to the easy expedient mentioned by Senator Smoot in order to avoid having to raise taxes too much. The plan of course will be popular in Congress. It is bad finance, and it will increase the difficulty of the inevitable readjustment of intergovernmental debts, but that will not deter our government from taking the immediately easy path.

SENSATIONAL OPERATIONS occurred in the wheat pit of the Chicago Board of Trade during the week ending November 15. With the Chicago price of 73 cents at the week-end some 8 to 14 cents higher than prices in Winnipeg, Minneapolis, and other great markets, the Grain Stabiliza-

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tion Corporation, subsidiary of the Federal Farm Board, entered the Chicago market and bought heavily, current reports crediting it with purchases of 10,000,000 bushels in three days. These reports were denied at the Farm Board offices in Washington, but two days later Mr. Legge officially announced: "Demoralization in world grain markets has made it necessary for the Grain Stabilization Corporation to again enter the wheat market in order to stop panicky selling and to prevent further unwarranted declines in domestic prices. . . . Further price declines would be in sympathy with foreign markets and not justified by domestic conditions." This surprising announcement serves as a reminder that the board during the past season bought great quantities of wheat at prices ranging from $1.25 to $1.12 a bushel in a vain effort to stay the decline of prices, and that it carried 60,000,000 bushels of these 1929 holdings over into the present crop year at heavy losses. With such a record of unsuccessful plunging behind it, how can the board expect the public to view its latest speculation with any other feeling than astonishment and alarm? Certainly nothing can be done to help the farmer by demoralizing the grain exchanges in which his product is sold, and such appears to have been the result of the board's latest operations. Careful observers, moreover, will not miss the sinister significance of Mr. Legge's last sentence, which suggests that domestic prices can be maintained irrespective of world prices.

THE COPPER PRODUCERS of the world, after conferences in New York, have entered into arrangements which, if carried out, will reduce the output of the red metal by 20,000 tons a month, and will keep production within the limits of present consumption. World stocks of refined copper were 65,466 tons on January 1, 1929, 171,320 tons a year later, and no less than 364,930 tons on November 1. It is not strange that the price fell from a high point of 24 cents early in 1929 to the ruinous figure of 9½ cents on October 23 last, the lowest price at which copper has sold since 1895. Since the announcement of the restriction the price has advanced to 12 cents, and producers hope that the huge existing stocks may gradually be worked off. What will be the attitude of the Department of Justice toward the plan is not yet known. Producers in other lines are watching anxiously with a view to making similar arrangements if this one is sustained, though such plans have been notoriously hard to carry into effect, irrespective of all questions of legality. With copper and sugar both the subject of world-wide negotiation and agreement among producers, we are getting clear illustration of the imperative necessity for world organization of production and distribution to which we have so often called attention.

MOSQUITOES as the indirect cause of the Black Tom explosion and fire in July, 1916, will seem altogether possible to residents of New Jersey who know their mosquitoes. According to the statement of Ervin J. Smith, first vice-president of the International Secret Service, the affidavits of scores of witnesses testify that a smudge fire built by watchmen to keep off insect pests provided the spark that destroyed thirty to fifty million dollars' worth of munitions. Mr. Smith's statement is not included in the reported findings of the Mixed Claims Commission, which recently disallowed the claims against Germany for damages of $40,000,000 for the Black Tom explosion and the Kingsland, New Jersey, fire in January, 1917. The findings, which thus favored Germany, were signed by an American and a German commissioner and by Roland W. Boyden of the United States, who was umpire. The Kingsland fire, according to the report, offers no proof at all of incendiary origin; the Black Tom fire might have been started by two of the four German agents accused, but there is no conclusive proof of it. Altogether the report appears to be a sane and sensible document; the German government is handsomely exonerated of any faint suspicion of complicity in the matter, and the whole business of German sabotage of property in the United States is said to be one which was frowned upon by responsible German officials. Robert W. Bonynge, agent for the United States before the commission, expressed himself as surprised by the decision, which he considered contrary to the evidence. But as it stands it will serve to increase the friendly feeling of Germany toward an erstwhile enemy nation.

THE PALESTINE DEBATE in the House of Commons, as far as reported here, brought little further clarification than had already been given to the government policy expressed in the White Paper of October 20. In a statement published on November 5 Lord Passfield had denied that the White Paper implied the stoppage of any of the nine categories of Jewish immigration, that it ordered the Jewish Agency not to employ Jewish labor exclusively, or that it barred unused lands to future Jewish settlement. On November 8 the Colonial Office had authorized the issuance of permits for 1,500 Jewish labor immigrants during the coming six months. In the debate Prime Minister MacDonald emphasized the great difficulties of the task and reiterated the government's purpose to carry out the pledges of the mandate to both Arabs and Jews, leaving to Drummond Shiels, Undersecretary for the Colonies, detailed reply to Mr. Lloyd George, who in a bitter attack declared that he could understand the White Paper only if it was written by anti-Semites. Mr. Shiels announced a new development scheme, to cost some £2,500,000, providing homes for about 10,000 families on the land—another effort, presumably, to quiet criticism of the White Paper. Jewish protest has not been without results. The course of the government has not been too edifying, but it is hard to give definite form in one policy to two sets of contradictory promises, and the present government, as Mr. MacDonald pointed out, is reaping only what its predecessors have sown.

FREE TRADE WON THE DAY in the British Imperial Conference as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, but the primary question of how to increase trade between the United Kingdom and the dominions remains unanswered, to be taken up again sometime next year in an imperial economic conference at Ottawa, Canada. The only concession, and that apparently one of form, made by the Labor Government was an agreement to continue the existing imperial tariff preference for three years. Meantime Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are reported to be planning preferential trade agreements among themselves, none of the benefits, however, to be extended to the United Kingdom. The failure of Premier Bennett of Canada to put through his protectionist proposal will not greatly discourage the British Conservatives, who are bent

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pon having protective duties in England, and the policy of vatchful waiting until an opportune moment for attacking he MacDonald Government comes, joined to sniping at exosed Labor heads in by-elections or elsewhere, will doubtless e continued. The one substantial achievement of the conerence, from the dominions' point of view, was an agreement hat governors general should hereafter be appointed by the King on the advice of dominion ministers alone—a long step, t would seem, in the direction of dominion independence.

WHILE THE KING EMPEROR was opening the Indian Round Table Conference in London, Mahatma Gandhi sat spinning in Yerovda jail. But Gandhi nevertheless was the principal participant in the London neeting. For whatever unifying stiffness runs through the ndian delegation—and so far there has been a surprising mount of it—derives from Gandhi's strength. When Mr. Jinnah boldly took it for granted that dominion status was he basis of deliberations, his boldness was only half his own. When the gorgeous Maharajah of Bikaner and his royal colleagues declared for a united and independent India, it was not because they love the King Emperor less but fear Gandhi and the Nationalists more. Incidentally, there could be no more significant evidence of the strength of Gandhi and his party than this move of the princes away from the safeguarding arms of Great Britain. Meanwhile, as the Indian morale seems to grow stronger, the British exhibit only confusion and complaint. The Viceroy's scheme, though t goes beyond the Simon report, adds little to the government's case. The opening of the conference would hardly seem the place for a scolding of the Nationalists, yet the Prime Minister indulged in just that. The British press seizes eagerly upon reports that the civil-disobedience movement is abating—but according to the Indian press it is so persistently alive that the government is said to be harvesting the crops in the Gujerat because the peasants have left their homes rather than pay taxes and because laborers refuse to be hired. If the Indians at the Round Table Conference can maintain their present unity, it will be hard for the British to continue to refuse them self-government on the time-honored ground that they cannot agree among themselves.

NICARAGUA STILL SUFFERS the disabilities of American occupation, notwithstanding the reduction of the marine force to about 750 men. The American-supervised election, held on November 2, resulted in a sweeping victory for President Moncada's Liberal Party, though only 60,000 out of 113,000 registered voters took part in the election. Even the defeated party concedes the fairness of the balloting, but it is worth noting that American supervision only ties the Nicaraguans more hopelessly to continued American control. Raymond Leslie Buell's admirable report on reconstruction in Nicaragua, just released by the Foreign Policy Association, calls attention to the progress made in replacing marines by the Nicaraguan National Guard, all but 15 of whose 150 line officers, however, are American marines. Serious criticisms of the activities of the guard are reported. It will be recalled that the United States under the Tipitapa agreements of 1927 undertook to pacify the country. Efforts in this direction have continued, with the cooperation of the National Guard, down to the present time, but have resulted in failure in the north, where Sandino and his associates have managed to carry on a more or less successful guerrilla warfare. Mr. Buell points out that the common population of Nicaragua and Honduras regards the so-called bandits not as outlaws but as patriots. This fact, together with the extraordinary military difficulties of the rugged country of Nueva Segovia, has made it impossible to bring the campaign to a close. From January 1 to September 15 of the present year the guard reported the killing of 126 "bandits." It will take a long while for us to convince the Nicaraguans of our good-will by shooting them down. Unfortunately, the program of the State Department seems to contemplate little that is more constructive.

THE AMERICAN LEGION BRANCH of St. Clairsville, Ohio, in a rage because a grocery store in town did not close on Armistice Day, advanced on the offending establishment in full battle regalia, threw tear-gas bombs inside the place to the discomfort of proprietor and customers, and wrecked a display of fruit on the sidewalk. Operators of the store protested to the mayor against this little pleasantry, but it is reported that no charges have been filed, although Mayor Bradfield explained that his proclamation calling for the closing of all stores on November 11 was not mandatory. The tear-gas bombs were obtained from the sheriff's office, the sheriff, presumably, not offering any objection—although perhaps he was "overpowered" by the mob. Nelson McQuillan, one of the legionnaires who went inside the store, declared the veterans "considered it their right to close the store on Armistice Day just the same as they would protest any attempt of anyone to tear down the American flag." We confess that this little episode, in which the officers of the town seem to us as guilty as the participants, puts us in a worse temper than would a half-dozen unsuccessful disarmament conferences in a row. So far the national officers of the Legion have not thought it necessary to comment on the occurrence.

"THE PRIVATE PAPERS of James Boswell," now in preparation, are to be further enriched by two important new finds which Colonel R. H. Isham has been able to purchase from Lord Talbot de Malahide, in whose Irish castle the manuscripts have been stored these many years. Lord Talbot sold to Colonel Isham in 1927 what was thought to be every scrap of Boswellian manuscript extant. Now the discovery, among other things, of 107 pages in manuscript of "The Life of Samuel Johnson" and the complete manuscript of "A Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides" —one-third of which has never been published—is announced. Colonel Isham has completed their purchase—at a sum which he refuses to name—and they are to be included, without additional charge to the subscribers, in the magnificent limited edition which is being published by William E. Rudge. Colonel Isham's part in the assembling of this priceless collection, which includes many letters and notes not before published, of the papers of one of the world's most interesting men of letters is perhaps not sufficiently appreciated. At great cost to himself he has secured and is publishing the material, and although he has been offered fabulous prices—for example, $80,000 for sixteen pages of the "Life"—for parts of the manuscripts, he declares that he will not break the collection but wishes to have it kept together and preserved in some library or museum where scholars may use it.

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The Second Winter

AS we enter the second winter of unemployment, the gravity of the situation, fortunately, is recognized on all hands. We are done with the efforts of the Administration at Washington to conceal the facts. One may recognize an apple seller on the streets of New York as an unemployed man without laying oneself open to the charge of lese majeste. Even the issuing of cheer-up statements by political leaders and business executives in the hope of changing the psychology of the situation has become less common. At last there is evident a healthy disposition to face the facts. Such a disposition may possibly lead to the framing of an intelligent policy to prevent the recurrence of unemployment, if public interest is not allowed to exhaust itself in the devising of those measures of immediate relief that are so imperatively demanded. It is just this that must not be allowed to happen. There must be generous provision for immediate needs; but in addition there must be thoughtful and intelligent planning for the future if the greatest opportunity of the present is not to be lost.

There has been a striking change in the character of official publicity that suggests the danger of just such a limited development. Up to the very time of Colonel Woods's appointment, the facts of unemployment were systematically played down. Now they are played up. Colonel Woods has announced that there are probably 900,000 men out of work in the construction industry and automobile manufacture alone. He figures these industries as operating at little more than 60 per cent of last year's rate, a scale undoubtedly far below the level of most industries. Then why select these two for special notice? Clearly enough, in order to call public attention to the seriousness of the situation and thus stir the public to immediate action. But the immediate action possible, essential though it is in the situation that we have allowed to develop, has no importance for the long-time result. No abundance and promptness of charitable relief now does anything to prevent future periods of unemployment or to make proper provision for its victims so far as it cannot be prevented.

We pointed out two weeks ago what is happening now, and necessarily happening. The various committees of all kinds, public and private, that have been hastily set up are vastly busy organizing and coordinating and exchanging information and suggestions practically all of which have to do with the immediate necessities of the present situation. They are trying to find jobs where none exist. They are trying to call into existence the handful of new jobs that can be created by the stimulation of immediate private and public expenditure. They are trying to spread thinner what jobs there are by urging employers to put full forces on part time instead of discharging workers. And where no work can be furnished, they are trying to provide charitable relief, often in disguised form. It is no criticism of such essential activities to say that they have no relation to the real problem we want to attack. We do not criticize a fireman because he does no more than rescue the inhabitants of a burning building, without succeeding in putting out the fire. But a city administration that went on indefinitely rescuing fire victims without making any effort to reduce fire hazards or to stimulate fireproof construction would be doing only part of its duty, and not the most important part at that.

Just so today. The real question we ought to ask is not only what is being done to relieve the miseries of unemployment today, but what ways are being devised to prevent unemployment tomorrow. This is a question that ought to be asked of industrial and political leaders alike. Some industrial concerns have worked out effective answers for themselves. A few municipal and State governments have made beginnings, in some cases promising ones. The report just submitted in New York by Governor Roosevelt's Committee on the Stabilization of Industry, recommending close cooperation of the State with employers to forward voluntary stabilization by the latter, the development of the State employment service, the organization of local employment committees, the setting up of a State planning board for public works, and a comprehensive study of possibilities of unemployment insurance, including a State system, is the latest conspicuous document in this field. The federal government, under Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover, instead of offering any leadership, has stood stiff-backed against all collective methods of combating unemployment, although ultimately, owing to the magnitude of the problem, only collective methods can be effective.

If Mr. Hoover has any real idea of what can be done he has concealed it carefully. As far as can be judged from his ordinary philosophy of government, apparently he would have the government smooth the way of the business man as far as possible, and then would trust vaguely to God, the business man, and Adam Smith somehow to regularize operations. That combination has failed repeatedly in the past. It will fail in the future. If competitive capitalism can offer no better solution of the unemployment problem than that, it will have to confess failure. That is what Mr. Hoover does.

By contrast, the scientific students of unemployment, whose findings Mr. Hoover declines to notice, offer concrete suggestions. They urge unanimously the nation-wide organization of the labor market—but that means collective action. They urge a scientifically devised system of unemployment insurance—but that means collective action. Under our constitutional scheme, such a system would doubtless have to be managed by the States, but the problem is a national one and demands national leadership. They urge the devising of practical schemes of stabilization, in addition to the accomplishments possible to individual concerns—and that means collective action. When the utmost that is possible has been accomplished along these lines, there may well remain the question whether a competitive capitalistic organization actually can stabilize industry and employment. That is a question for the future, but action along the main lines of a scientific program for preventing unemployment is a task for the immediate present. To take the first steps is the most important thing that we can do in this second winter of unemployment.

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No Political Truce

THE seven Democratic leaders who hastened to assure the country, only three days after the election, that the Democrats wouldn't do a thing in the coming session to embarrass Mr. Hoover or his party—"the Democratic Party faces its duty with a firm determination to permit no thought of political advantage to swerve it from the course that is best for the country" are the noble words that were used—must by this time be feeling rather uncomfortable over the results of their manifesto. The Republicans, or some of them, after thinking the matter over for a couple of days and counseling with the President, issued through Senator Watson a statement accepting "with full faith and credit" the pronouncement of the Democratic leaders, but not without intimating broadly that they could, if they chose, say some things, presumably disagreeable, about "the obvious political propaganda" which lurked in the patriotic declaration of the Democrats. Mr. Hoover, of course, fell for it after a little further reflection, announced that a "limited truce" for the period of the short session had been arranged by the hostile warriors of the Senate and that no extra session would be needed, and is now waiting to learn where we shall go from here. Senator Glass, on the other hand, who disclaims the title of a party leader and does not pretend to know any mind but his own, promptly threw confusion into the arm-in-arm parade by challenging the right of "any undelegated group of gentlemen, great or small, to pledge 47 Senators and 217 Representatives in Congress to a precipitately devised course of action," and added some caustic comments on past Republican performances well calculated to make Republican gentlemen squirm in their seats.

Apparently, then, we are not to have a party coalition after all, the truce is off, and Mr. Hoover will receive the homage of those only who are about to die. Why it should ever have been thought that a coalition was necessary or possible is hard to understand save, perhaps, on the supposition that a handful of Democratic leaders, foreseeing a possible Democratic control of the next Congress, became panicky at the prospect of having to assume real responsibility and sought to stiffen their own backbones by protesting that Democrats, by and large, are quite as good citizens as are Republicans. There was no need of protestation, for the country, as Senator Glass pointed out, was at least as prosperous under Cleveland and Wilson as it has been under Harding and Hoover; only the crassest of partisans can see the Democrats deliberately holding up supply bills or other needed legislation in the short session in order to embarrass the government; while if Republicans yearn for relief from the business depression, Democrats yearn for it no less.

We are sorry, of course, over the predicament in which the "undelegated group of gentlemen" find themselves, and to see Mr. Hoover grasping a shadow touches our heart, but we nevertheless think that the Democrats will be a great deal better off for keeping themselves free. Nothing could be worse for the party than for its members in Congress to throw up their hands at the beginning of the short session and chant a three months' "me too" to whatever emanates from the White House. Something will doubtless be undertaken by Congress for the relief of the business depression, and it is to be hoped that whatever is done may be statesman-like and fruitful of results, but for the Democrats to abnegate their right of criticism and resistance would be to admit that wisdom rests with the Republicans and that only the Hoovers, the Grundys, and the spokesmen for the Anti-Saloon League and the power companies can lead us to safety and provide jobs all round. It would mean a tacit acquiescence in the Smoot-Hawley tariff. It would mean free rein to the Republicans to do their worst, since after the present Congress they may not be able to do anything at all.

The Democrats have been for years a party of opposition. A year from now, perhaps sooner, they may be the party in power. They have done none too much to commend themselves for either role, for they have frankly embraced protection, they have faced both ways on prohibition, and on most other important issues they have split. They have a rare opportunity now to show, by the way they conduct themselves in Congress during the next three months, that they have a better program than the Republicans and are able to press it by holding together and saying the same thing. As long as the two-party system continues to prevail, the only immediate hope of political betterment in this country, barring the miracle of Republican change of heart, lies with the Democrats. There should be no more talk of coalition, for coalition is a concession to weakness, and there is no place for weakness in our politics now.

An Overcrowded Ocean

THE joint sailing schedule adopted recently by the six leading British steamship companies in the North Atlantic passenger trade—with closer affiliation in the offing—should be information to the public of something more than a curtailment of service. It should be notice that shipping has reached a stage where even the British—who have stood historically for free competition—feel forced to follow the other maritime nations into the realm of pools, monopolies, and not improbably government assistance. The two leading German passenger lines are already in a pool, as are the chief Italian carriers, while a single company has a practical monopoly of the transatlantic passenger trade under the French flag and the same condition prevails in regard to that traffic under the American colors.

Ever since the World War shipping has been in a bad way financially. Yet in spite of more ships than cargoes, new building began immediately at the close of the war. This was due partly to old-fashioned commercial competition—the wish of each line to maintain a well-rounded fleet and hold or enlarge its business—but still more to the newer economic nationalism which has nowhere developed more sharply than in the post-war fight for sea trade among the world's chief maritime Powers. Nearly 6,000,000 gross tons in new ships of 2,000 gross tons or over were put out in the years 1921-26, of which somewhat more than half were British. Germany has been working feverishly to replace her war losses, while Italy, through government subsidies, has built up a great new fleet. As obsolescence and actual losses had been considerable during the war, some of this

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building was needed, but a great part was superfluous, occasioned by national rivalries and government aid. Shipping men everywhere admit that there is too much tonnage on the ocean; some estimates declare there is double the amount that is actually required.

Though the shipping situation was bad before the recent industrial slump in America, the depression has naturally increased the difficulties, especially on the North Atlantic. Figures from the Department of Commerce show that for the first eight months of 1930, as compared with the same period in 1929, the value of our exports to Europe dropped by 16 per cent and our imports by 27 per cent. Yet the shipping employed remained about the same—some 16,000,000 net tons. Transatlantic passenger business has not fallen off so badly, but there has been a shift from the profitable first class to the less well-paying cheaper accommodations. According to figures compiled in 1926, the highly seasonal character of our post-war transatlantic travel has brought it about that on an average less than 30 per cent of the berth space is occupied throughout the year.

As far as the United States goes, we did not enter the post-war building scramble actively until the passage recently of the Jones-White law, with its generous grants for carrying mail and government loans for new construction at interest rates as low as those the Treasury itself pays. Since then our shipyards have been humming. Excellent as this may be to relieve unemployment, it would be better, economically speaking, to pay the men to chase themselves around the block and save the raw material.

American shipping executives admit that there is too much tonnage on the ocean in general, but justify new building in this country on the ground that we haven't yet our share of the foreign trade. They note that a hundred years ago American ships carried nine-tenths of our imports and exports, but today transport only a third of them. They say that only about 12 per cent of the transatlantic passenger travel is in American ships, although 85 per cent of it originates in this country.

So the United States Lines are laying the keels of two 30,000-ton passenger ships this winter and have a couple of others up their sleeve. Also they have submitted plans to the Shipping Board for two super-liners of high speed to compete with the Bremen and Europa. From the standpoint of the company, undoubtedly some new vessels are needed to make its fleet an efficient entity. From the purely nationalistic standpoint, this is a good time to build up an American merchant marine. But from the standpoint of world economics and common sense, from which our highly interrelated life must be more and more directed, new building in this country is simply the launching of superfluous tonnage upon an already overpopulated ocean.

It looks as if we should have to call an international conference to limit merchant marines as well as navies, and to allocate the trade of the world among the maritime Powers. To a considerable extent once competing companies have already allocated trade among themselves. That is, each has certain preserves conceded to it by gentlemanly agreement, and, except for a few outlaws, there is not much poaching. But national rivalries and industrial depression threaten to tear this concession to amity and intelligence asunder, unless the maritime Powers agree to parcel out world trade and stop the present dangerous overbuilding.

Americanisms

FEW of us, consulting British dictionaries, can come upon [Americanism] after the definition of the word we are looking for without feeling somehow rebuked. It is as if the British lexicographer had remarked [Colloquial] or [Vulgar]—as if the implication, in short, were that the word could hardly be used without apology or condescension by a well-bred British patriot. Those noble Britons who had supposed that all English owes to America is a few local terms and a little picturesque slang must have been taken aback when they read the recent article in the London *Times* by Sir William Craigie, one of the editors of the Oxford Dictionary, now in the United States.

Sir William begins by pointing out that the word "Americanism" was used in England nearly a century and a half ago, which indicates that the colonists had already made some difference in the language which they took with them. The difference was even greater than the early English writers supposed. Maize had been changed to "corn," "lot" had come to mean a piece of ground, "lumber" was used for timber, "hemlock" to denote a tree instead of a plant, "creek" became a synonym for stream, and old words which had had little currency in the old country had become common in the new, such as swamp, bottom, canoe, meeting-house, log house, and cabin.

It is often impossible to say when a particular Americanism was first used by a British writer or established itself in ordinary English usage. Its coming in was often accompanied by a remark on its origin. "She is, indeed," wrote Charles Lamb, "as the Americans would say, something awful." The process of hesitant adoption is well illustrated in the case of "lengthy," which is as old as the diary of John Adams in 1759. The *British Critic* of 1793 objected to it; Southey and Scott introduced it with the respective remarks "to borrow a transatlantic term," and "as our American friends would say." Bentham, however, used it without apology in 1816 and so did Dickens in 1837. "Reliable" excited much opposition among English purists.

The total number of words or meanings of American origin established in English by the middle of the last century cannot readily be estimated at present, but it would be small, Sir William remarks, in comparison with the number which have flowed in since. Many of these have so quickly become familiar that their origin is unsuspected. What adjectives could be less suspicious than "governmental," "whole-souled," and "law-abiding"? As an indication of the present range of Americanisms, Sir William confines himself merely to pointing out a few beginning with the letter "B." Pioneers who could invent "backwoods" and "back country," both as old as the middle of the eighteenth century, had no need, he feels, later to import a German "hinterland." Other Americanisms beginning with "B" are "bee-line," "bed-rock," "bonanza," "banjo," "belittle," "breadstuffs," "back taxes," "boarding-house," "business man," "bloomers," "boss," "bogus," "bunkum," and "boom." The editor of a local Iowa newspaper in 1870 brought in the use of "blizzard" for a sudden and severe snowstorm. It is plain that the English tongue in future will owe as much for its enrichment to the countries of its adoption as to the land of its origin.

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Dividends Are Insured—Why Not Wages?

By LEWIS COREY

PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER and the trade-union leaders who accept the philosophy and practices of business enterprise declaim against compulsory unemployment insurance as a "dole" which "limits the independence of men." Meanwhile, unemployment increases, wage cuts accumulate with the speed of a snowball going downhill, and charity begs for more money to prevent starvation and other hardships among the unemployed. But although the captains of industry, finance, politics, and organized labor declaim against compulsory unemployment insurance, they do not object to the corporations' policy of "dividend insurance" and complacently accept the checks in payment of dividends which are not being earned but are paid out of accumulated surplus.

The depression, now more than a year old, has severely cut corporate net earnings—probably one-half on the average. Net earnings of General Motors for the first nine months of 1930 declined to $123,000,000 from $222,000,000 in 1929. Yet General Motors maintains full dividend payments, although only two-thirds of dividend requirements are being earned. Nor is General Motors exceptional. In fact, many corporations earning even less than two-thirds of dividend requirements are making full dividend payments.

This is, moreover, true of corporations as a whole. For the eleven months of 1930, according to the *Journal of Commerce*, a list of selected corporations disbursed $2,668,000,000 in dividends, an increase of $297,000,000 over the corresponding period of 1929 and of $1,098,000,000 over 1928. The important fact is that a very large part of these dividend payments are not being earned, and in many cases dividends are maintained in spite of substantial deficits.

The statistical material is incomplete, but there is more than enough to indicate that the present business depression repeats the experience of other depressions. It is clear that the situation is now as bad as in 1921, and probably slightly worse. What happened then is happening now. Here are some of the facts:

DIVIDENDS IN THE 1921 DEPRESSION—ALL CORPORATIONS

	Net Income	*Dividends*
	(*Millions of Dollars*)	
1919	$9,412	$2,453
1920	7,903	2,735
1921	4,336	2,476

(Source: *Statistics of Income*, 1919-21, issued by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Dividends are the payments received by income-taxpayers only.)

In spite of the depression which began in the fall of 1920, dividends in that year were larger than in 1919. The depression reached bottom in 1921, but while net income declined severely, dividends were almost as large as in 1920 and slightly larger than in 1919. Corporate interest payments, moreover, increased substantially. At least 3,500,000 employees of corporations were unemployed, left to skimp, use up their small savings, get in debt, the more unfortunate forced to accept charity; yet corporations increased interest payments and maintained dividends. The income of our more prosperous citizens declined in the 1921 depression, but it was not materially caused by a decline in corporate dividend and interest payments.

Another suggestive aspect of the 1921 depression, equally true of the present depression, is revealed by the following table:

EARNINGS AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE 1921 DEPRESSION—MANUFACTURING CORPORATIONS

	Wage-Earners	*Salaried Employees*	*Officers*
	(*Millions of Dollars*)		
1919	$10,453	$2,042	$822
1921	8,193	1,673	878
	Decline	*Decline*	*Increase*
	21.6%	18%	6.8%
Decline in Employment (1919-21)	2,052,000 (23%)	290,000 (20%)	None

(Sources: Wages, Bureau of the Census; officers' compensation, *Statistics of Income*.)

Officers of corporations not only take care of stockholders (and themselves as stockholders), but also take care of themselves as officers. While wages declined 21 per cent in the 1921 depression and the salaries of clerical employees almost as much, officers' salaries actually increased nearly 7 per cent. In the minor cyclical depression of 1924 employment and wages declined again, but officers' salaries increased slightly and dividends increased 4 per cent in spite of a decline of almost 9 per cent in corporate net income.

Business depression means unemployment, wage reductions, and misery for millions of wage workers and their dependents. After sternly rejecting compulsory unemployment insurance as a menace to our "sturdy American individualism," business, politics, and organized labor issue appeals for "relief"—which is charity. But why is dividend insurance not a menace to "sturdy American individualism"? The same corporations which reject unemployment insurance "make it a practice," according to a business authority, "to invest a portion of their saved earnings in securities or readily salable property held outside the business, as an insurance that dividends will be maintained," these investments being characterized as "rainy-day funds." Corporations usually and on the average retain 25 per cent of their net earnings as surplus. Accumulated surplus in 1927 amounted to $40,524,000,000. Of this surplus, $9,780,000,000 was invested in tax-exempt government bonds yielding an income of $500,000,000. Out of these "insurance" resources corporations maintain dividends during business depression and declining net income or when there are deficits in periods of prosperity. Dividend insurance is a charge upon accumu-

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lated surplus. Why shouldn't the insurance of employment and wages equally with dividends constitute a charge upon surplus?

There are not more than 5,000,000 stockholders (less than one-ninth the number of persons gainfully occupied), and of this minority a still smaller minority of 345,000 stockholders in 1927 received 55 per cent of all dividends disbursed to individuals. It is this small minority which profits most from dividend insurance.

Compulsory unemployment insurance should be a charge upon industry and society in the shape of its government. Unemployment insurance is not charity, particularly if labor contributes along with industry and the government, and if it is democratized by the participation of labor in its administration and is part of a comprehensive system of social insurance. Unemployment insurance will not solve the problem of cyclical depression, which is an inherent defect of capitalism. But it will prevent the demoralization of unemployed workers who are compelled to depend upon charity in one form or another. It will, moreover, establish an important principle of social control over industry, which may broaden and deepen ultimately into complete socialization.

Chains Versus Independents

III. Chain Management and Labor*

By EDWARD G. ERNST and EMIL M. HARTL

THE informed members of every community—the chamber of commerce, bankers, and every citizen with the interest of the community at heart—offer almost invariably and without hesitation two major criticisms of the chain stores, directed, namely, against their non-cooperative attitude toward public enterprises and the low wages they pay to labor. As has been pointed out in a previous article, the chains of late have become more interested in community affairs, chiefly because of the coercive power of public opinion. In the field of wages, however, where this pressure has been felt but little, slight progress has been made. The average consumer is unconcerned and tends very strongly to the opinion of the Minnesota farmer who said, "What do I care how much they pay those town guys? I buy where it is cheapest." In fact, many consumers think that low prices necessitate low wages.

Wages in Grocery Chains

In the survey of ten cities upon which this series of articles is based we aimed to determine just what the wages paid by chains are and also to compare them with the wages paid by local independent merchants. In the chain grocery stores the wages of men clerks working full time usually range from about $12 to $17 or $20 per week. Occasionally an exceptionally good clerk gets $25. In one store at Gulfport, Mississippi, we found one salary of $38 per week. In this store, which was a part of a sectional and not a national chain, the man worked on the average of seventy hours per week. Figuring the wages in the thirteen chain-store systems represented in our study, the average wage per chain system was about $19 per week, or nearly 20 per cent less than the average wage paid by the independent grocers in the same towns. Figuring the average not by chain systems but by the number of people involved, it was about $17 per week, nearly 40 per cent lower than the wages paid by the independent grocers in the same towns. To make this concrete, let us compare the chains and independents at Newport, New Hampshire, where wages are comparatively high. The three chain stores, employing fifteen men, pay an average of $21.27 per man. The three independent grocers, employing eleven men, pay an average of $32.94 per man. The chains here are paying about 35 per cent less than the independents.

These figures do not include managers' wages in either chains or independents. The managers of chain stores, of course, are paid better. It may be said as a general statement that the only decently paid employee of most chain-store systems is the manager. In the grocery store he generally operates on a drawing account and a commission, the former being somewhere between $25 and $30 per week and the latter in most cases 1 per cent of the gross business in dollars, amounting to $5 or $10 per week and occasionally to $15. The average "one-man-and-helper" store does between $500 and $800 worth of business per week. Thus the average chain-grocery manager in an average store makes somewhere between $35 and $45 per week. There are some, of course, who make more. In one national chain, contracts are occasionally issued which allow for a commission of 1¼ per cent on the gross business. At Tallahassee, Florida, one manager with an unusually good contract, including a drawing account of $35 per week, is making up to $70 per week.

Wages in Limited-Price Chains

The wages of the managers of limited-price chains, such as the five-and-ten-cent stores, are considerably higher than those of the grocery men. But the wages of the extra help, chiefly girls, are lower than those of extra help in grocery stores. Let us turn to a brief review of this field, in which are included all stores ranging in price from five cents to five dollars. Thirteen systems of this type were covered in our survey. We found the average wage expectancy for a girl in the several systems to be about $11 per week. Six of the thirteen systems pay an average of $10 or less. Is it any wonder that a doctor in one of the towns remarked that "these five-and-ten-cent-store girls are as thin as rails. They make only $8 or $9 to begin with and then spend half or three-fourths of it on clothes and cosmetics instead of on proper food. A sandwich will do when a vegetable dinner is needed."

* The third of a series of four articles. The fourth, The Fighting Independents, will appear in the issue of December 3.—Editor The Nation.

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The "green" girls are usually started at $8 per week ıd can rise to $12 and, perhaps, in certain sections of the ›untry where a higher wage level prevails, to $13 or $14 ɛr week. Occasionally a floor girl or a cashier will make as ıuch as $20 or $22. It is interesting to compare these wages ·ith the wages paid in the independently owned variety ore. In Little Falls, Minnesota, in a store which is ›erated by a man formerly employed in a chain, the average ɛr girl is $17.30.

An explanation of this difference is difficult but two ements seem to be clearly involved. First, the local man ınnot risk public disapproval in his home town; and, second, e has a deeper consideration for and interest in those who ·ork for him. The chain store is so huge and so highly ıechanized that human values are naturally among the last › be considered. The primary object is to pay as little as ıe market will stand and keep down the overhead.

The managerial opportunities of these stores are fairly ood. A young fellow can at a comparatively early age ecome the sovereign, limited, of course, of an established usiness. He may have his drawing account of $35 or $50 nd his 50 per cent or 20 per cent or 10 per cent commission n the net profits of the business. The percentage depends pon the class or type of store he is managing. The classes, ı, B, C, D, are determined by the volume of business done uring the year. The percentage of the net profit paid iminishes as the amount of the net profit increases. Thus ne chain-store manager at Danville, Virginia, working on contract calling for 50 per cent of the first $5,000 and 0 per cent of the second $5,000 as commission, makes about 3,500 per year. In addition to this the company gives him n insurance policy of $2,000. One of the large five-and-ten-ent-store systems guarantees its managers a minimum of 3,000 per year.

By increasing the volume of business or by being pro-noted to a better store the manager can increase his income. There are managers making $10,000 and $20,000 per year. "But they are only the ones in the big city stores," suggested ne of them; "it's hard for a man in a smaller store to dvance much beyond his guaranty. There are so many xtras tacked on a store. The cost of the fixtures has to be killed off' and by that time new ones are installed; the ost of the super-organization is heavy [about 5 per cent]; nd the prorated expenses, such as donations, have to be aken care of. And so it goes."

Department-Store Chains

A third type of chain stores came into our survey, ıamely, the department stores which handle dry goods, shoes, nd ready-to-wear. Managers and men and women clerks re paid better here than in either the limited-price stores or he grocery stores. In ten stores representing five chain ystems and involving 110 girl clerks the average wage per irl is about $15.50 per week. We found that the average vage per girl paid by the independent merchants in the ame cities is about $16.50 per week, or approximately 6 ›er cent higher than that paid by the chains. There are xceptions, of course. At Little Falls, Minnesota, the aver-ge wage paid by one chain store is considerably higher than he average wage paid by the corresponding independent tores. The men employees of the independents are paid ıearly 23 per cent more than the men of the chains, exclu-sive, of course, of managerial wages. This is easily ex-plained by the fact that most of the chain-store men are putting up with small wages until they shall become man-agers themselves. The independent merchant has no such reward with which to hold his labor.

The managers of this class of chain store have on the average a better opportunity financially than the managers of any other chain system. At Greencastle, Indiana, we found a man who had sacrificed a three-year contract with a salary of $247.50 per month to work for a chain at $100 per month. But in five years he was the manager of a store, and more successful than he had ever dreamed of being. It's a Santa Claus story. Be a good boy for five years, don't spend much money, learn the A B C's of merchandising, and become the head of an established business with one-third of the profits of the business.

Nearly every chain except the grocery chains boasts of some bonus system. This is usually a gift amounting to $5 or some multiple of that and given most frequently at Christmas time. In a limited-price store at Anderson, South Carolina, the bonus amounts to $5 the first year and in succeeding years $5 for each year of employment. In a chain store in Minnesota a bonus of $263 was given to one person. The smallest gift was $100. Needless to say, this is unusual and limited to a few chains. Most of the organizations belonging to the department-store class give discounts to employees and their dependents. One store belonging to a national chain, at Shreveport, Louisiana, allows a 15 per cent discount. It is likewise true that discounts are given by independent merchants to their help.

Chain-store managers, with the exception of a few in grocery stores, are themselves directly responsible for the wages they pay. Recommendations come from the New York offices, of course, to keep the overhead of selling cost as low as possible. This cost varies from 2 per cent to 15 per cent, depending upon the type of store and the volume of business. The curtailment of expenses increases the net profits, indicates efficiency, and makes for promotion. As a result of this several managers of limited-price stores admitted that they aimed to hire only girls who live at home.

Working Hours and Vacations

All the previous discussion has been based upon full-time hours of labor. But there are always a great many part-time workers employed in the chain stores. Saturday trade in some instances demands a doubling of the sales force. The pay ranges from fifteen cents per hour for girls in limited-price stores in Anderson, South Carolina, and for grocery boys at Shreveport, Louisiana, to thirty cents per hour in department stores in Greencastle, Indiana, and forty cents per hour for extra help in grocery stores at Framingham, Massachusetts.

Laws regulating the maximum hours per day for women are followed quite rigidly. In Danville, Virginia, however, where the maximum is ten hours, one of the managers volunteered that they nearly got him last year, especially around Christmas time. Most chain stores are governed as to hours by local standards arrived at by the merchants of the town through the chamber of commerce. Our survey reveals that the hours are practically the same for both the chains and independents. If there is a slight difference, it is the independent merchants who work their

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help a bit longer than the chains. These comparisons, however, do not include the chain manager and his helpers. Their work is only half done when the front door is locked.

"Talk about a jail, it hasn't anything on this," said one manager. From three to five nights per week he and his helpers work until ten and twelve o'clock, and on Sundays he comes down alone for five or six hours. At another limited-price store, at Danville, Virginia, the manager said that he arrived at seven-thirty in the morning and worked until eleven o'clock at night on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. His men average thirteen hours per day except during the very hot weather of the summer. These stories could be duplicated many times.

To our question "Do the companies require you to work overtime?" the answer was almost invariably: "No, they discourage it, but we can't get the work done otherwise." Some of them added rather significantly: "But they *notice* it when we try to get ahead." In grocery stores the rule is that all must be in shape at night for tomorrow morning's business. In variety and dry-goods department stores all counter changes must be done while doors are closed. Window displays must be ripped out and replaced by nine o'clock in the morning.

Most of the chain-store systems have a relief period from this routine in the form of a vacation. Usually this is on some systematic basis, such as one week with pay for the first year, ten days for the second year, and two weeks for the third year. Two of the thirteen chain grocery systems definitely say they give no vacations. Two of the five department-store chains have no definite system. The independent merchants, in comparison, may be said to have vacation systems, but there are a great many more exceptions than with the chains.

Educational Requirements and Advancement

With what equipment must a man come today to the chain-store personnel man if he expects employment? We are thinking particularly of the man who expects to become a manager. The major portion of this last section shall be given to answering this question. However, a word is in order about the requirements for the ordinary employees. In most of the limited-price stores, particularly the five-and-ten-cent stores, the girls need to know how to wrap a package, replace stock, and make change in small denominations. For larger bills Number 5, the floor walker, is called. They are primarily "order-takers." The customers are held mainly by price appeal.

In the department stores, where salesmanship is highly important, much more attention is paid to the education and native personality of the prospective employee. Likewise, instruction in the particular chain store's methods is much more extensive. The ability to learn is the prime requisite.

The applicant for a managerial position in a grocery chain store need not have much of an education. No particular knowledge of business arithmetic is necessary. All merchandise is billed in at retail price. He needs only to check it and account for it in the cash box (a thing not so easily done, as we have pointed out previously). A prime requisite is an even disposition and tendency to receive orders graciously. On the average it takes a man six to eight months to become so thoroughly familiar with the retail game as to be able to manage a store well. Previous experience and versatility of mind may cut the time. In Lindbergh's home town, Little Falls, Minnesota, one manager took over a store in two weeks, and another man coming directly from a boiler factory but with a boyhood grocery experience became a manager of a store in two days. Comparatively young men can become managers. We found several who were just nineteen years old. Usually the chains require that a man be at least twenty-one. The average age of the managers of a large sectional chain of 400 stores in New England is thirty years.

To become the manager of a limited-price or a department store, it is becoming more and more essential to be a college graduate. This is not so true with the five-and-ten-cent stores as with the others. In fact, the president of one of these low-priced chains stated quite definitely that he did not prefer college-trained men. It is perhaps easier to train those who do not rely upon their college laurels to carry them through menial tasks and duties. All men, college or otherwise, must start at the very bottom with sweeping the stockroom floor and gradually rise to a floor-walker's position, then to the assistant managership, and finally to managership itself. From this chain-store policy there seems to be no deviation. The son of a man after whom a chain system is named and the two cousins of another chain magnate had to traverse the same route from the basement to the office. This process takes at least two or three years and for some it takes five years. In the average five-and-ten-cent store there are about 7,000 articles with which to grow familiar.

The managers of these "dime" stores are often only twenty-one or twenty-two years old. The managers of the junior department and dry-goods stores are usually older. There is a difference in the caliber of men trained and selected as managers of the various chains. The limited-price-store men are trained to be good store men, with a thorough schooling in the economies of merchandising, standardized methods of salesmanship, and the general technique of their own system. Qualities which might make a man a community figure of influence are secondary. This is not so with the department stores. One of these dry-goods chains is very zealous about the caliber of its managers. It is insufficient for a man to be merely a master of store technique; he must also have the disposition and the personality which will make him an influential figure in the noble enterprises of his community. A high official of this chain informed us that the chief reason why they are expanding rather slowly is their inability to secure faster the proper sort of men for managers.

For a young man today, especially the young man without capital, a number of opportunities in the chain-store field are open. His opportunities in the independent merchandising game will be discussed in the next article.

The wages in the chain stores for employees other than managers are inadequate and will eventually be raised. The chains will realize that it is to their own advantage to pay their labor well. If as the agencies of mass distribution they are to maintain their position in a mass-production era, they must hasten to increase the buying power of the public. Mass distribution can only work where there is mass production and mass consumption. If they are wise they will work toward the establishment of a "mass-consumption wage."

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Servants of the Soviets*

By LOUIS FISCHER

Moscow, October

THE G. P. U., or Soviet Political Police, recently arrested a large number of high Soviet officials charged with plotting the restoration of a bourgeois capitalist regime in Russia. They had the nucleus of a party, and had actually formed a cabinet. Professor Kondratiev, the best-known non-Communist agricultural expert in the country, was to be minister of agriculture; Professor Yurovsky, who with Kamenev stabilized the ruble in 1924, was designated minister of finance. Suchanov would be foreign minister. It is said that the restorationists' cabinet included no new prime minister, the implication being that they would have retained Rykov, the present Bolshevik Premier. Whether he was consulted is only a matter of vague conjecture, but this and other attempts have been made, by word of mouth and in the official press, to associate the plot with the right-wing faction in the Russian Communist Party.

Two groups united to form the restorationist party: one, the nucleus of a liberal people's-peasant movement, headed by Kondratiev; another, led by Professor Groman, a very prominent official of the State Planning Commission, and Bazarov, the Russian translator of Marx's "Kapital," which has been characterized as "menshevist." Kondratiev, Groman, and their colleagues have for years been airing their views, or relatively innocuous variations of their views, in heavy scientific tomes published with the approval of the state. Whether they felt that the time had come for action, or whether less theoretical souls decided to use them as the dignifying academic façade of an outright coup d'etat, I do not yet know.

The plot was soon discovered and easily suppressed. One can scarcely imagine that it ever had any chance of success. But it is significant from many angles. Of course, the G. P. U. may see far-flung conspiracies where they do not exist. "Conspiracies" can be useful to spread a net for too militant non-Communist state specialists who insist on molding government practice to fit their principles, or to discredit a party faction unpopular with the party chiefs. But if the Kondratiev-Groman scheme was a real conspiracy to overthrow the Soviets it points to the desperate straits of the enemies of bolshevism in Russia. It is indisputable that it would never have occurred to the restorationists to match forces with the government if, in their opinion, any hope had yet remained of a gradual evolution of communism toward more liberal, near-capitalist forms under which the peasantry and bureaucracy might, even through devious ways, moderate and modify the policies of the state. The proposed counter-revolution, moreover, proves that Kondratiev's and Groman's allies—persons inspired by the political, economic, and military ambitions common to all countries as well as those irreconcilably hostile to the party's methods—undertook their rash action in the conviction that the present firm dictatorship offers no opportunity, except by recourse to force, of changing leaders or policies. Trotzky had apparently come to the same conclusion, and attempted by a theatrical, oratorical demonstration in the streets of Moscow to convert the million-man parade on the tenth anniversary of the revolution into an anti-Stalin coup. He failed miserably.

In Russia hostility to the state is rigorously suppressed. There is one party and one ruling class. Yet all the resources of the government do not suffice to annihilate antagonism. In fact, new classes are apparently being driven into opposition, though it seems, if only to the naive perhaps, that their support might be won by good-will and better treatment. If, as Oppenheimer and other Europeans teach, a state presupposes the rule of one class over another, each state must insure its life by maneuvering the classes so that some are upper and some nether. Unanimity of support is utopian and destructive of government. If no opposition exists, governments create it consciously or inevitably through the operation of iron social laws.

The city bourgeoisie in Russia represents no real economic power, and, at least for the present, the Bolsheviks do not take the trouble to paint it as a menace. The enemies within the gates are the rich peasants, or kulaks, and certain elements in the government apparatus.

The kulaks, according to varying estimates, numbered from three to five million persons—children, women, cripples, and all. For years they have been persecuted, and collectivization introduced a campaign of unusual rigor with a view to their physical extermination. Many were imprisoned for anti-governmental violence, many were exiled, many deprived of their holdings, and many taxed into poverty. Yet today when anything goes wrong in the village, the kulak is blamed. If grain procurements are slow, if the speculators get the grain instead of the cooperatives, it is always the kulak who is branded as the "wrecker." Now if this is so, the kulak is either a multiple-headed, self-renewing hydra which cannot be killed with the sword, or there are many more kulaks than is officially admitted, or "Bolshevism, the kulaks are upon you!" is simply being used by bad village administrators as an excuse for all their failures. They need a scapegoat. They therefore multiply each kulak *n* times. Certainly, the old definition of kulak as a holder of rented land and exploiter of hired labor is fast becoming obsolete, and some stupid rural tax collectors and politicians would make the entire uncollectivized peasantry identical with the kulaks.

Collectivization and the consequent imminent doom of agrarian capitalism has embittered the obstinate private holder, so that if he does not submit to the collective he fights madly, though the odds are heavily in favor of the government. Yet Communists will probably rue the day when the last of the kulaks hangs out a white flag. For the sake of perpetuating the class war in the village a few kulaks may even have to be preserved in oil and subsidized.

The second source of hostility is the government bureaucracy. Where the state not only performs administrative, executive, judicial, and legislative functions, but also

* This article, as its date line indicates, was written before the alleged discovery by the Russian authorities of a plot to overthrow the Soviet regime from without.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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controls 95 per cent or more of industry, all transport, the bulk of trade, the cooperatives, the huge state farms, and the collectives which produce half the country's harvests, where the state is literally ubiquitous and omnipotent, the influence of the bureaucracy which runs the state machine is likely to be boundless. While postponing the proof to a later day (if proof still be needed), I think it may safely be affirmed that all factors tend to prejudice the situation in favor of the successful attainment of the immediate economic goals which the Bolsheviks have set themselves. The bureaucracy, however, has it in its power to lower the coefficient of Bolshevik success. Under the present Soviet regime a loyal, competent civil service can perform miracles, whereas an inefficient bureaucracy may countervail many of the advantages of an enthusiastic proletariat, a disciplined party, a good plan, and the best political system.

What undermines the usefulness of the Soviet bureaucracy is its fear of responsibility, fear of initiative, and the party's lack of confidence in it. When mistakes are often seriously punished and may bring down the suspicion of counter-revolution or sabotage on those who commit them, every official dreads putting his signature to a paper and stands in horror of making an independent decision. Each one "passes the buck" to somebody higher up. Even Communists so fear the burden of unshared responsibility that they will frequently not attach their names singly to a given document. I have heard of extreme cases where big engineers will not prospect for oil or minerals because failure to find what was wanted might be charged against them as disloyalty. On the other hand, those who are ready to accept direct responsibility—as, for instance, directors of factories who cannot get things done unless their word is law—meet interference from factory committees, trade unions, and other sources which makes it well-nigh impossible to put into effect the party's order to establish "single command." "Single command" is altogether impracticable unless the commander-in-chief exercises absolute power.

The measure which of late has contributed most to the demoralization of the bureaucracy is the so-called "proletarianization" of the state apparatus. On the assumption that factory workers are more loyal, they are being introduced into government offices in increasing numbers. Sometimes this has salutary effects. The dogmatism, pedantry, and inflexibility of Russian bureaucrats is proverbial, and some fresh air in the form of rough-and-ready proletarian methods can be helpful. But there are more Soviet officials than Soviet factory workers. Skilled educated workers, moreover, are more needed in industry than in the civil service.

Because of their lack of culture and training a few workers transported suddenly from behind textile looms to the Finance Commissariat or Health Department or a commercial agency are capable of disorganizing the whole works. Generally speaking, they can improve the situation within the bureaucracy very little if at all, while their presence in an office is a permanent reminder of the government's attitude of distrust toward its own officials. Nothing could be more destructive of the morale of the Soviet official class. Numerous bureaucrats are undoubtedly anti-Soviet at heart, and some who dare may be actively counter-revolutionary. But the great majority are loyal and want to help, and if they were met with trust they would be happy to pay in better service. You cannot demand enthusiasm and sacrifices from the very people whose loyalty you impugn, nor from people over whose heads a permanent Damoclean sword of dismissal hangs suspended. Yet the Communists do so, and I cannot imagine that the results are satisfactory. The government apparatus is too essential a factor in Soviet economy and politics to be handled in this deplorable fashion. The exaltation of the proletarian should not be pushed so far as to require the alienation of the non-proletarian civil servant. Or must a ruling class always have a class which it can irritate?

When the newspapers discuss the food shortage they usually demand the improvement of supplies for the workers. Why workers only? Such a demand merely gives offense to the vast army of officials and to others gainfully employed. Similar instances of tactlessness could be multiplied. It goes without saying that the state apparatus also suffers from fundamental objective ills: super-centralization, above all, and insufficient democratic control in such organizations as the consumers' cooperatives. These cooperatives count no less than 50,000,000 members throughout the Soviet Union. The population's food, clothing, comfort—in fact, all domestic existence—depend largely on them, and yet their inefficiency is beneath criticism. Queues outside stores have become a normal and very distressing feature of life, but the shortage of goods only partially accounts for this evil; bad management in the cooperatives must bear at least equal responsibility.

The chief explanation, I think, must be sought in the non-cooperative characteristics of the cooperatives. The consumer-customer lacks interest in his store. Bolsheviks have begun to recognize the errors of such a system, and the "closed distributor cooperatives" are certainly an improvement on the free-for-all store. Nevertheless, control exercised from above through sporadic workers' brigades or by sudden descents of "light-cavalry" investigators on unsuspecting cooperative-store managers fails to cure deep-lying faults. The real solution would be direct participation by all members—workers or not—in the direction of single cooperatives and of the cooperative movement as a whole. More "Rochdale," in other words. Decentralization and the disencumbering of the civil service by shifting as many of its burdens as possible to the shoulders of the organized masses—this is the highroad to an improvement of the bureaucracy. And yet these objective innovations without a change of subjective approach to the loyal civil servant would avail little. Wise administrators could accomplish wonders by a single wave of the hand—by assuming the loyalty of government officials and acting on that assumption.

One question remains—I leave it unanswered: Are even the ablest administrators held in the grip of a social law which requires the class that is supreme to impress its supremacy, in ways wise and otherwise, on the class that is not? Or does this struggle of the proletariat with the bureaucracy arise from a fear, not altogether groundless (witness the Kondratiev-Groman affair), that the latter may usurp the power of the working class? And is inefficiency therefore inevitable?

By turning over responsibility and authority to a class previously subjected to oppression, bolshevism released untold reserves of mass energy. It created an irresistible impulse toward education and inspired millions with a new sense of

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ersonal dignity, individual opportunity, and social duty. We are still too near these tremendous changes to appreciate their significance for Russia and the whole world. The world is blind, prejudiced, and hateful; its condemnation ommenced in 1917, when no knowledge was yet available, nd still continues. But irrefutable facts will ultimately onvince the cynics and doubters that the enthronement of he proletariat in Russia and the consequent destruction of he bourgeois and feudal classes must have at least as epochnaking results as the displacement of feudalism by capitalism.

But there are countervailing disadvantages. Capitalism, though it represented an advance, crushed the great artisan guilds and gave birth to a class of underpaid workers. Immensely efficient and highly productive, capitalism must, nevertheless, since it is a class regime, limit the productive capacity and productive enthusiasm of its servants. Only the class which rules and collects the full proceeds of its labor exerts itself fully. In Russia the proletariat, under normal conditions, is relatively more productive; the bureaucracy, being the nether class, is less productive.

Look Out, Brown Man!

By SHERWOOD ANDERSON

IN Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, and even in Indiana and Ohio, the big shuffle-footed Negroes' Negro man, the so-called "bad one," goes about on the alert now. He has to be careful. These aren't good times for a Negro man to be too proud, step too high. There are a lot of white men hard up. There are a lot of white men out of work. They won't be wanting to see a big proud black man getting along. There'll be lynchings now.

Such a Negroes' Negro man doesn't always remember to be polite and courteous to whites. He isn't slick and fawning. He's not a white man's Negro. There are wenches like that, too—thick blood in them, heads held high. You'll see one of that kind occasionally on a country road in Georgia, a fine proud one. Such a carriage she's got, such a swing to her hips.

Look out, brown man!

You'd think, if you listened to Northern people talk, or to professional Southerners in the North, that all Negroes were alike. I've heard them say, "Why, I can't tell one Negro from another." Might as well say, "I can't tell one field from another, one mountain from another, one river from another." Some can't.

They say, "It's different down South. The Negro knows his place down there." They mean to say he always goes fawning, taking off his hat to any kind of low-grade white, getting off the sidewalks. Why, you'd think, to hear them talk, that Southern Negroes, particularly in the far South, were just dogs. Not very high-class dogs at that. There is a kind of dog that always goes about like that, his tail always between his legs.

As though any decent Northern or Southern white man, or woman, would want a Negro man, or woman, to be like that.

There are whites that do want it. Second-, third-, and fourth-rate whites they are. They are in the ascendancy in a lot of places in the South now, have been in the ascendancy ever since the Civil War. Before that they were there of course, but they were kept under. Why, you can find as many loose-lipped, boastful, slack-eyed, second-rate whites in the American South as in any place on earth. Who do you suppose does the lynching down there, in the dreadful ugly little towns?

The cheap ones got into power in a lot of places in the South after the Civil War because the whites with class to them got killed in the war. Or they lost all they had. The first-rate families in the far South are surprisingly feminine now. I mean there aren't any men left in some of the families, just a few high-class women hanging on. They don't do any loud talking about killing Negroes—the Southern people with class to them, men or women. I think the real Southern people, of the old South, always did understand the position of the Negro pretty well. There was a situation. The South had something on its hands—"our peculiar institution," the statesmen from down there called it. It was peculiar, all right.

You had to assume that all Negroes were natural servants, that they liked being in a subordinate position in life. They gave love and devotion to the whites, expecting nothing.

I can't see why a Negro should be any different than any other man about all that. A man does what he has to do. How many whites are there in subordinate positions in life, doing what they don't like to do, being pretty polite about it, too?

I can't see this sharp difference between the impulses and desires of Negroes and myself. I think decent Negro men and women have the same feelings I have. They have, under the same circumstances, the same thoughts, the same impulses. I've been about Negroes a lot. I've watched them—that's my specialty, watching people—I've talked to them.

"But you can't understand the thoughts and feelings of a Negro," men say. I've asked a good many Negroes about that. "If you can get on to yourself a little I guess you can get on to me," the Negro says.

"Why," someone says, "you've got something primitive here." Sure you have. You've got the difference of a few thousand years out of the caves and forests. How old is the human race anyway? How much difference do a few thousand years make? And anyway we haven't any pure-blooded Africans here—not any more.

I know this—that the people with some class to them, both men and women of the South, never have talked so big about the difference. These people always did recognize a certain position they were in and that the brown men and women about them were in. It was a difficult position. Slavery never was any good. It wasn't any good for the

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whites or the blacks either. Most of those who talked so big about the glories of slavery never did have any slaves. The intelligent, human white man of the old South did the best he could with life there, as he found it, and the intelligent brown man did the same.

They got to a kind of friendship, too. Don't think they didn't. Once I was walking with such a white man in a city of the far South when a loose-lipped, cunning-eyed brown man came shuffling up to him and asked for money.

"I'se in trouble, Mr. White," he said.

"You are, eh?"

"Yessah, Mr. White."

"Well then, where is your white-man friend? Why don't you go to him?"

"Because, sah, I ain't got no white-man friend."

"You ain't, eh? Well then, I'll tell you something—the Southern white man who hasn't a Negro-man friend and the Southern Negro man who hasn't a white-man friend isn't any good. . . . . You get out of here. You make yourself scarce."

That is about the attitude of the intelligent white or brown man or woman in both the old and the new South, as far as I have been able to get at it. The trouble is there are not enough intelligent whites and browns. Which race has the best of it in that, I don't know. That's one of the things you can't find out. There are all kinds of shades to intelligence. You don't find it all in books, I know that.

You have to think about the Negro with a little intelligence, a little sympathy. You have to consider his position in our civilization. You have to remember that not so many white men and women are anything so very special. Hardly any of us are anything so very special really.

You have to think of what the Negro has done in his position, how well he has handled it, both in the North and in the South.

Then you have to remember also that there are Negroes who are not white men's Negroes. I dare say there were proud men, fierce men, fighters and strutters among the tribes in the forests over there in Africa, too. The blood of these men must have come down, some of it, into some of our blacks, some of our browns.

I, for one, can imagine how such a man feels sometimes, when he has to knuckle under. I'm a white man and I've had to knuckle under to second-rate white men myself. I've had to laugh when such a one laughed, listen to his dull yarns, pretend to be impressed when he talked like a fool. I've done it. I've sat in advertising conferences, out in Chicago, for hours at a time, listening to some big windy man talking nonsense. I've sat there smiling, being polite, nodding my head, looking impressed.

I remember one such advertising conference when I sat like that for four hours. I was fingering a heavy inkwell that happened to be on the table before me. I wanted particularly, I remember, to bounce it off the head of a certain vulgar fat man who kept several of us there the four hours that day while he talked about himself. He was telling us what a big man he was, but he wasn't big. It turned out just as I thought it would. What he wanted us to do for him, and what we did, over our protest, broke him. I'm glad it did.

The whites in America have got the Negro into a certain position in our civilization. We present-day whites didn't put him there. We are in rather tight times. The Negro, because of his long subjugation, because he has known, has been taught by the circumstance of his position, a lot about sliding through such times, will get through the present situation better than a lot of whites. He will know how, will have been taught by life how to do it.

That will make a lot of second-, third-, and fourth-rate whites jealous and sore. There'll be lynchings now. You watch. There'll be women insulted.

You'll be surprised, if you watch it, how few first-class white women will be insulted. Most of the women insulted will be the slack wives or daughters of slack second-rate whites, and in this situation the fawning, polite white man's Negro will get through all right.

The fellow who has to look out now is the Negroes' Negro.

Don't strut much these days, big boy.

Walk carefully now.

Some of us understand how you like to strut, how it is in your blood. A good many of us don't mind an occasional strut ourselves. Why, most of the strutting songs, to which we strut, when we do strut, we got from you.

We'll be your friend, if we can, big boy, but it's going to be rough going. There'll be lynchings now. It is a time to walk softly. If you have any intelligence, brown boy, Negroes' Negro, remember that it has been by remaining friends with the intelligent people among the whites, by having an understanding with them, that the browns have got along with the whites as well as they have.

Why, I am talking to Negroes now.

Bear this in mind, Negroes' Negro. There are a good many of us whites who are, more than we like to admit, in the same position as you. If your people have been slaves, so have ours; if you have been in a subordinate position in life, so have we.

There are a good many kinds of slavery in this life.

More brains, white man and brown man, for God's sake, more brains!

Look out, big brown boy, the lynchers are loose.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter once lived for a while in the Jewish section of the lower East Side of New York City. Not wishing to appear a foreigner, he determined to learn the language of the country. He had been told by learned friends that Yiddish was a dialect of German, not unaffected by English, and written in Hebrew characters, so he went to see Max Maisel. Mr. Maisel, who has been a friend of most of the great revolutionaries of his generation from Prince Kropotkin on, runs a polyglot bookstore on Grand Street. On being asked what a man should read who wanted to learn Yiddish, Mr. Maisel produced a little gray book printed in English, but with page 1 at the back of the book and page 76 at the front. On his way home with his purchase, the Drifter stopped in a hardware store. While he was there, a young man came in and spoke to the pro-

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ietor as follows: "Nails will i haben, in a so a box, mit a einen head. So gross waren die nails. I think sie liegen rt auf the top shelf." That little speech inspired the rifter to hope that he might be able to master the language Sholom Asch and Molly Picon, the idiom of the exiled ople of Moses and David, without too great difficulty.

* * * * *

N a few days he had learned the alphabet, and had learned, too, the sentence (this was as far as he ever got the book): "Wos hot der Hund? Der Hund hot gor t." Then he determined to test his prowess. He set out ith high hopes and romantic intentions. The Jewish soul, iat passionate, ageless flame that so few Gentiles ever dis-ver, was to be revealed to him through its own tongue! he Drifter met his first disappointment when he saw a *Daily Forward* beside him in the elevated and eagerly spelled it a headline over his neighbor's shoulder. It read: "Behs-all un Yenki-Imperialism." But gradually he became ardened, so that he was not downcast when purely com-iercial signs turned out to say (on a tailor-shop) "Kliner resser Fikser un Farber," or "Diese Behsment zu forrenten, nit Stim Hit, Anfragen beim Dzschenitor." At last he olved the mystery of a place which said "Strictly Kosher estaurant" over one window, and something Oriental-look-ig in Hebrew characters over the other. After devoting ome minutes to working out this problem he discovered that ie Hebrew letters said, simply enough: "Shtriktli כשר estaurant." One empty store did bring a certain pang, owever. A poster in flaming letters was stuck to the win-ow. Surely here was the yeasting-place of that noisy leaven n our republican dough, the Communists, or at least of Morris Hillquit and his Socialists. But the burning letters, eciphered, read: "Dieser Plehs will muven nach 121 Clin-on St."

* * * * *

THE Drifter went doggedly on. Down the street was a picturesquely dilapidated area-way with a promising abel. Striving to keep his eyes off the English version, as a nan proud of his French does at the movies in Quebec, the Drifter applied his new learning to the board: "Repairing chap. Tinsmit. Rufing. Lasst Eire Orders im Box." In ow spirits, the Drifter pursued his quest among the ash cans, cartons, and noisy children. He scorned the label on an American Express office advertising "Auslendische Mani-Orders" and came a severe cropper on the vowelless Hebrew ver a synagogue door. He was diverted for a moment by a baby who wanted to explore the synagogue, and by its mother who said, "Ya can't go in there, ya ain't got no hat on!" This seemed to throw some light on the old men with long mohair coats, splendid white beards, and shiny silk toppers, whom he had observed of a Saturday bound for the syna-gogue. As he thought of them, the Drifter felt better, almost romantic again, so that his eyes lighted eagerly on an aged wooden sign by a basement window. It was faded, and Eastern, and Talmudic-looking. Its battered but per-sistent imperishability seemed to symbolize the character of the Jewish race. Who knew what struggles and heartbreak hid in the walls behind that sign? Slowly the Drifter spelled it out. Sheen, Vav, He, Samech . . . until it stood revealed in all its starkness: "Schuhs gefikst bei Elektrik."

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Taft and Roosevelt

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The question Was Roosevelt "betrayed"? has come up again in connection with the publication of Herbert S. Duffy's "Life of Taft" and Archie Butt's volume of letters headed "Taft and Roosevelt." Permit me to comment briefly on the review of this question by Mr. Louis M. Hacker in *The Nation* of November 5.

Mr. Hacker seems to think that any betraying which was done was done by Roosevelt. He cites seven or eight matters of policy, the "Roosevelt policies," such as dollar diplomacy, labor program, protectionism, navalism, standpattism, and control of railroads, to show that Taft was perfectly sound and loyal to the Roosevelt policies when tested by these policies. In the end he says: "It must be apparent on the basis of this comparison that there was not a ha'penny's worth of difference between the two men," and passes on to a further conclusion that it was Roosevelt's lust for power which made him impervious to any overtures of friendship by Taft.

Admitting all Mr. Hacker has said or might say about Roosevelt's imperialism, his dollar diplomacy, his labor program, his protectionism, I still submit that Mr. Hacker cannot explain away what were very real and fundamental policies in the Roosevelt Administration. Why did Taft feel it necessary to select a new Cabinet (with one exception) in taking over the Roosevelt Administration? Why was it necessary to fire Garfield, who was the key member so far as conservation was concerned? Why was it necessary to fire Gifford Pinchot, who was the impersonation of all the conservation policies as well as their author?

When Roosevelt inherited the McKinley Administration his first announcement was that he would try sincerely to carry out the McKinley policies. He retained the McKinley Cabinet, though most of its members proved to be disloyal to him. Taft celebrated his election by slipping word to the Roosevelt Cabinet that their resignations would be in order and that he did not propose to reappoint them.

Taft further gave evidence of his independence of Roosevelt and his backing by removing himself from any communication with Roosevelt, going to a resort near Atlanta, Georgia, where he gathered about him a new set of advisers—men notorious for their opposition to such policies as conservation, the elimination of child labor, and so on; and as a result of these conferences Taft appointed to his Cabinet men notoriously acceptable to Wall Street and the big-business interests, notably the anti-conservation interests. I submit that this was provocation which would inevitably alienate Roosevelt. I submit that it was a fundamental betrayal of the Roosevelt policies. It is unnecessary to go into such matters as child labor, the pure food and drug act and its crippling under the Taft Administration, the Taft hostility to Roosevelt's national irrigation policy, the abolishment of Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, and all similar commissions. It does not happen to be true, as Mr. Hacker states, that Roosevelt worked in political harmony with Aldrich, Cannon, Kane of New Jersey, Penrose, and others of the ultra-reactionary group who became Taft's staunch supporters. These were the men who supported the Commerce Court and the legislation to cripple the Interstate Commerce Commission, and who fought Roosevelt's efforts to tighten up the anti-trust law.

Taft had no real sympathy with the Roosevelt policies, and finding himself in power, did not scruple to "ditch" them.

Washington, November 7 GILSON GARDNER

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Elimination of Want

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Some seventy-five or eighty years ago John Stua Mill remarked that in the most advanced countries a far bett distribution was economically needed most of all, and so it now. In hand with this must go some sadly needed reforn in other matters. The present nation-wide acute distress is ce tainly a blot upon this country's social life, and from all indic tions, unless I err greatly, the persons selected to treat the ca are bound to make a bungling job of it. If the people, an especially the most favored few, were moved by the right spiri the elimination of want would be possible in this country.

New Haven, November 1 Inne Rus

The Seminar in the Caribbean

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The Committee on Cultural Relations with Lati America, after a year's study in this field, is now announc ing the first annual session of the Seminar in the Caribbean The members of the seminar will sail from New York on th SS. Caledonia, February 14, 1931. Visits will be made to Sa Juan, Porto Rico; Santo Domingo; Colon, Canal Zone; King ston, Jamaica; Port-au-Prince, Haiti; and Havana, Cuba They will return to New York on March 4.

We have enlisted a group of able lecturers and leaders o round-table discussions—Dr. Ernest Gruening, Dr. E. C. Linde man, Dr. Leland Jenks, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Mr. Charle Thomson, and Mr. Carleton Beals. Distinguished Latir Americans, as Dr. Fernando Ortiz of Cuba and Dr. Moise Saenz of Mexico, are expected to participate in some of th sessions. Seminar programs are being arranged in San Juan Santo Domingo, Port-au-Prince, and Cuba. Application for membership and requests for further information should b addressed to me at 112 East Nineteenth Street.

New York, October 30 Hubert C. Herring

Contributors to This Issue

Lewis Corey has contributed articles on economic and labor problems to the *Annalist, New Freeman, New Republic,* and *Advance.* He is the author of "The House of Morgan" (just published).

Edward G. Ernst and Emil M. Hartl, authors of "The Steel Mills Today," present in four articles the results of an extended first-hand study of the chain-store situation.

Louis Fischer, Moscow correspondent of *The Nation,* is the author of "The Soviets in World Affairs."

Sherwood Anderson, author of "Winesburg, Ohio," "Dark Laughter," and other works, edits the *News* in Marion, Virginia.

Vachel Lindsay is the author of "Congo" and other books of verse.

Herbert W. Schneider is the author of "The Puritan Mind."

Stanley J. Kunitz is the author of a volume of poems, "Intellectual Things."

Granville Hicks is assistant professor of English at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

Horace Gregory is the author of a book of verse, "Chelsea Rooming House," which is to be brought out shortly in England by Faber and Faber.

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Books and Films

The Dunce-Cap on the Ghost

By VACHEL LINDSAY

For a brag, for a scandalous boast,
I put a dunce-cap on a ghost,
Because he did not know
That he was wasting his free hour
A-haunting of me so.

For I have looked on Pride grown tame,
And Friendship turned to hate,
And Patriot Fervor now gone lame,
Martyrdom out of date,
And Beauty turned to bait;
Unselfishness, to lust,
And Vows to dust.
While these keep me a-shiver,
What is a shabby ghost or two,
Or a dead man from the river?

Communist Criticism

SO many false and irrelevant standards are possible in criticism that most critics seem to escape from one only to embrace another. We have yet to learn that the act opposite of an absurd standard may be a standard ually absurd. Hardly have we emerged from a wave of manist criticism, which rated a work of fiction low or high direct ratio to the amount of will-to-refrain exhibited by hero, than we are hit by a wave of Communist criticism, nich hoots or hails a work of art in proportion as it seems oppose, ignore, or support the opinions of a German econo- st who died in 1883.

As Exhibit A, let us take Mr. Michael Gold's attack, the *New Republic* of October 22, on the work of Thorn- n Wilder. It is not my intention here either to defend the vels of Mr. Wilder or to depreciate the merits of Mr. old's skilfully malicious caricature of them. Mr. Gold s as much right to rationalize his temperamental dislikes any of us. My present purpose is merely to examine the undness of the supposedly objective standards to which Ir. Gold's rationalization appeals.

What seems to infuriate him most is Mr. Wilder's nasterly retreat into time and space"—into Rome, ghteenth-century Peru, the lesser Greek islands sometime B. C. "Where," demands Mr. Gold in his best oratorical anner, "are the modern streets of New York, Chicago, and ew Orleans in these little novels? Where are the cotton ills, and the murder of Ella May and her songs? Where e the child slaves of the beet fields? Where are the stock- oker suicides, the labor racketeers, or passion and death the coal miners?"

As I interpret this, Mr. Gold finds Mr. Wilder guilty two mortal sins: failure to set his novels in his own time nd country, and failure to choose his characters from the roletariat. Now the best way to test a standard of this sort to see what judgments it leads to when applied generally. Mr. Wilder's would not be the only reputation to collapse. There would be poor Henry James, who wrote hardly at all about the proletariat. There would be Flaubert's "La Tentation de Saint Antoine" and "Salammbô," the first set in Egypt in the sixth century of the Christian era and the second in Carthage in 150 B. C. There would be Stendhal's "La Chartreuse de Parme," set in eighteenth-century Italy. Goethe, too, would have to be thrown out: living at the birth of the industrial revolution, he wrote very little about the shocking economic conditions of his day; instead, he devoted himself, absurdly, to elaborating a medieval legend. Racine's interest either in his own day or in the proletariat seems almost negligible; his dramas deal with almost nothing but the passions of noble Romans and Greeks. Shakespeare is quite as hopeless. Out of his thirty-seven plays, only one or two of the least important, such as "The Merry Wives of Windsor," were definitely set in his own country and age. All of his principal tragedies, "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Othello," "Lear," "Romeo and Juliet," "Julius Caesar," "Antony and Cleopatra," exemplify that "masterly retreat into time and space" that so enrages Mr. Gold. And like the tragedies of Sophocles and Aeschylus and the epics of Homer, they are all about the high-born, not about the proletariat.

Mr. Gold's notion, in brief, that the novelist is under any obligation to set his fiction in his own time or country, or to draw his characters from any particular class, is without a shred of logical or historical support. Criticism based on any such assumption is always bad criticism. But it would be pointless to argue that question with Mr. Gold, for he is not interested in art as art or in literature as literature; he is interested in them only as political or economic propaganda. One need merely quote his judgment of Mary Heaton Vorse's recent novel called "Strike!"—incidentally an excellent piece of reporting on conditions in the Southern mill towns. To Mr. Gold the book is "a burning and imperishable epic," a judgment which (as Mr. Sinclair Lewis remarked recently in these columns) ranks it with Milton and Homer. That one judgment is enough to reveal Mr. Gold's complete irresponsibility as a literary critic. His devotion to the Cause has made him blind to all other values, to any sense of proportion.

Mr. Gold happens to believe in a stale communism, but I am not at the moment quarreling with his economic ideas; I wish merely to make the point that when one comes to the judgment of literature or art, one must recognize that purely economic values, important as they are, can be only a small part of the total hierarchy of human values. Mr. Gold's literary standards of judgment are ridiculous chiefly because they are ridiculously narrow. Far better men than he have come to critical disaster by applying standards essentially sociological. Tolstoy is the supreme example. Late in life he came to the conclusion that only that art is valuable which directly helps to "unite all men," and the courageously rigorous application of this standard—a vastly broader and more plausible standard than Mr. Gold's—led him to dismiss the work of Shakespeare, Dante, and Goethe among others, while in their place he put "A Tale of Two Cities," "The Chimes," and "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

All similar standards, applied as honestly and consistently as Tolstoy applied them (he even dismissed his own

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early work), must lead to judgments quite as grotesque. The economic standards of the Communists fail disastrously in criticism for the same reason that the conventionally moral standards of the new humanists fail. Literary values are too comprehensive, too delicate, too complex, too profound, to be tested by such narrow and too, too simple standards.

HENRY HAZLITT

Jonathan Edwards

Jonathan Edwards: The Fiery Puritan. By Henry Bamford Parkes. Minton, Balch and Company. $3.50.

JONATHAN EDWARDS was and still is personally so fascinating that few students of his life or thought have been able to resist his spell. Like his contemporaries, his biographers are impelled to an extravagant admiration or hatred. In either case he is abstracted from his environment. In view of these circumstances Mr. Parkes has triumphed over no small difficulties in portraying the society in which Edwards lived without allowing him to dominate the scene. Except for one or two dramatic incidents Jonathan Edwards remains in the background: his career serves as a simple plot into which are woven various intimate and highly entertaining scenes of Puritan society. The theological and political histories of New England have created a largely mythical notion of how the Puritans behaved. Mr. Parkes has made an extensive study of their misbehaviors and in the light of his discoveries Jonathan Edwards and his contemporaries assume a decidedly fresh appearance.

We see something of the wild college life which prevailed during the early days of Yale. The "enthusiasm" of the students, both religious and secular, their escapades, strikes, and factions make modern college boys seem pale and puritanic. Then we are taken up the Connecticut and introduced to the urbane, complacent society of Northampton, attempting to keep up with the lively pace of Boston, thriving, hustling, and worldly. The towns are surrounded by excitable pioneers and superstitious farmers, relying on their physical strength and their primitive, agricultural religion. Ecclesiastical factions add additional color and controversy. Suddenly this variegated society is thrown into a chaos and orgy of religious passion. The hysteria produced by fear of hell-fire is but one phase of a more general excitement. The most common events are immediately given supernatural and unearthly meanings. The Lord is working wonders, and everybody is anxious to participate. Even the most rush-hour-rushed New Yorker must be impressed by the story of Farmer Cole, who heard that Whitefield was to preach at Middletown, twelve miles away. He ran into the house, called his wife, and together they rode off on horseback at a gallop.

> When the horse began to lose breath, Cole dismounted and ran beside it; and when he was breathless he climbed on to the horse again; this he did several times, as though they were flying for their lives. When they were half a mile from the main road on higher ground, they saw on it what looked like a cloud or fog, rising above the trees like mist from the river. And when they were nearer the road they heard from it a noise like rumbling thunder; but when they had almost reached it they found that the cloud was a cloud of dust and the noise was the noise of horses' hoofs; and they could see men and horses slipping along in the cloud like shadows. They were passing in a steady stream with scarcely a space between one horse and the next, with their nostrils all of a lather and sweat dripping from their flanks. After a while Cole and his wife were able to force their way in, and for three miles they pressed forward into Middletown, without any man speaking a word; and their clothes and horses were so plastered with dust that they were all of the same color. When they came to Middletown there was a crowd of several thousand waiting, and the ministers were just coming toward the meeting-house; and when they looked toward the Connecticut River they saw the ferryboats plying to and fro, and the oarsmen and the passengers and the horses all hurrying as if for dear life; and the banks across the river were still black with people.

After the religious hysteria of the "great awakening" h subsided, there came violent ecclesiastical disputes between t conservatives and the "new lights." Family feuds, financial flation, tense anxiety caused by French and Indian wars, the general ferment which culminated in the American Revol tion—all these factors enter vividly into the life of eighteent century New England. Through this inflamed society Jonath Edwards moved, in part a product of his generation and in pa a critic of it.

I suspect that the publisher rather than the author believ in the subtitle "The Fiery Puritan," for though the gener atmosphere of the book is lurid enough, Edwards appears decidedly cool, reasoned, and reflective. To be sure, his young days were marked by extremes of passion—by alternating d pressions and exaltations, by a sense of the terrible majesty God and by fits of weeping over the infinite reaches of tl divine perfection. And, to be sure, he was a leader in fomen ing revivals and protracting debates. But when seen in the ligl of his frenzied contemporaries he becomes impressive not b cause he is "fiery," but because he made a sustained and critic effort to restore sanity and philosophy.

The author's attempt in the epilogue to trace Edwards blight upon posterity needs much more evidence to be convincin His disciples, Bellamy and Hopkins, fought a losing fight, an it is not true that "by the end of the century the bulk of th Congregational clergy were with them" (p. 250). Still mor doubtful is the attempt to blame the revivalism of the nineteent century on Edwards. It had fresh origins and was not inspirec save indirectly, by Edwards's writings and teachings. Certainl the current superstition that modern prohibition, blue laws, an sexual taboos are the direct products of New England puritan ism has little justification. There is no evidence that Edward was much concerned with these issues. His attacks on frivolit and "company keeping" were directed chiefly against such prac tices *on the Sabbath,* and his campaign against "bundling" wa on the whole an incidental affair. Mr. Parkes goes so far as t say:

> Without Edwards's intellectual justification puritanism, North and South, would have been eaten away by the acids of science. It is hardly a hyperbole to say that if Edwards had never lived, there would be today no blue laws, no societies for the suppression of vice, no Volstead act.

This is not only a hyperbole, but an absurdity. In any case, i was not the acids of science but the profits of commerce tha destroyed puritanism. Edwards knew his science quite well, anc in his great treatises on "The Religious Affections," "Free Will," and "Original Sin," as Mr. Parkes himself points out, he de fended Calvinism on grounds which go deeper than the current liberal carpings of would-be scientists. He says at one point very clearly:

> Whatever else God might be, He was certainly not benevolent; Chauncy and Mayhew were attributing to the Deity qualities which they thought He ought to have, instead of those which He actually did have. And this false view of the universe, which was common at that period in London and Paris as well as in Boston, produced a sentimental outlook, blinded people's eyes to reality. . . .

Such Calvinistic realism is profoundly scientific.

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It is idle to enter here into a dispute regarding the interetation of Edwards's own religious experience, since this has ıg been a subject of much difference of opinion. The reader told on page 62 that Edwards was converted in 1721 and that conversion "was not caused by fear of hell"; on page 75 it ems that Edwards was converted by the earthquake of 1728; ıally, on page 261, the author confesses that "Edwards's pernal narrative tells how he was converted, but does not explain hy; I have therefore supposed that he was convinced by the guments which he himself uses in his treatise on 'Original n.'" This is rather hazardous biographical method, since the eatise on "Original Sin" was written late in life. In any case, is difficult to reconcile the fact that fear of hell had nothing do with Edwards's own conversion (if he ever had one) ith the author's statement that Edwards turned to preaching ll-fire sermons because sinners could not appreciate appeal to e love of God (p. 101). As a matter of fact, comparatively w of Edwards's sermons were hell-fiery. In short, the facts Edwards's life and environment which Mr. Parkes has etched so skilfully bear little relation to the crude generalizaons of the prologue and epilogue.

HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER

Not Quite Pure Poetry

Doctor Donne and Gargantua. The First Six Cantos. By Sacheverell Sitwell. Houghton Mifflin Company. $10.

AT "congenial moments" over the last ten years Sacheverell Sitwell has worked on this fragment of "Doctor Donne and Gargantua," now published in a limited dition, of which two hundred copies, altogether, are for sale in Great Britain and the United States.

"Go and catch a falling star, get with child a mandrake oot," exhorted John Donne, and so, obediently, Mr. Sitwell's wo characters set out together on their fantastic quest, Donne imself to discover a new and potent elixir by hauling down meteor, and Gargantua to solve the sexual problem by impregnating a mandrake. At the end of six cantos, some two housand lines of blank and free verse, they are no nearer heir respective goals than at the beginning, but they have had ome remarkable adventures: to wit, a garden party, an agreeable Gargantuan seduction, a dinner (in imitation of a painting by Giulio Romano), an encounter on Vergil's beloved Monte Alburno with Faunus (whose description is modeled on a Japanese picture by Sesshiu), and finally attendance, near the emple of Sunium in Attica, at a celebration of Poseidon's festival (in part a reminiscence of Signorelli's Pan and Apollo n the Berlin Museum).

What's a book without pictures? Filled with elegiac regret for the lost Golden Age, Mr. Sitwell is most generous with his pictures, which coax the eyes and put the mind in a drowse:

> Old mirrors weedy as a choked mill-pond,
> All the dust from dresses; airs tired by the fan,
> That waved as a shuttle weaving silken talk
> Of plots and jewels, the dagger and the beryl;
> Fruits like the bergamot, ices of pure snow,
> And all the conceits of the red-walled orchard;
> The trees grown for poetry of name and scent
> With bitter rinds that no sweet mouths could bite;
> All these were forgotten and the lutes were broken.

Mr. Sitwell is an associational poet, building up his cloudy fabric image by image, each canto being a development of imagery from a new theme (a madrigal by Greene, a phrase in a letter of Nietzsche, a painting of the banquet of the gods in the palace at Mantua) in the same way that the whole poem has its inception in two lines from a song of Donne. He is frequently guilty, particularly in the expository passages, of deplorable pedestrian verse; but when unfettered by logic, he commands at times a brazen rhetoric of admirable sonority:

> Pompey is an arrogant high hollow fateful rider
> In noisy triumph to the trumpet's mouth,
> Doomed to a clown's death, laughing into old age,
> Never pricked by Brutus in the statue's shade.
> But Caesar and Pompey were dead pawns to me
> Moving down fields forever fallow, never bearing,
> And I cared not which killed the other
> Snatching his mock-life of me.

Edith Sitwell has said of Sacheverell Sitwell's poem, "It is just pure poetry." But I do not find it pure enough: it has the great misfortune of being contaminated at the source by an idea. The idea, explains the author in his prefatory note, is that the whole poem represents "a contest between good and evil, between the spiritual and the physical," and this idea is a nuisance, because it must sometimes be referred to; it pulls at the links of the poet's consciousness, it interferes with his process of "pure poetry," which otherwise might overflow ebulliently into thousands of cantos without stop, until the last image clicked black in the brain.

It is true, of course, that Mr. Sitwell has not been very seriously concerned to realize that terrible fact of nature described by Baudelaire as "the struggle of the two principles which have chosen for their chief battlefield the heart of man: the war of the flesh against the spirit, of hell against heaven, of Satan against God." After a few playful efforts in the first three cantos to control the heavy machinery of his philosophic argument, he is pleased to leave it by the wayside and happily wander, in melodious digression, through his fields of acanthus and asphodel. It was folly, in the first place, to anticipate a contest: Gargantua is a jocose stuffed dummy that hogs the show, while the saturnine face of the eminent Doctor Donne bobs in studious approval of his big friend's antics.

Whatever Mr. Sitwell may add to these six cantos in the future, it is probably safe to say that his "world of fantasies, of carved conceits," is radically trivial in kind and spiritually meaningless. The serpent has not entered the garden: there is not enough death in the world.

STANLEY J. KUNITZ

A Tender History

The Wanderer of Liverpool. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

"THE Wanderer of Liverpool" is, I take it, a labor of love. Not only was the Wanderer the first large sailing ship that Masefield saw; not only is the ship to him the epitome of beauty and strength; Masefield has, if we may judge from a poem he wrote some years ago on the subject and from the concluding poem in this volume, identified himself with the ship and chosen her as a symbol of his life. In the earlier poem he romanticized the Wanderer, exploiting the legend that she was an unlucky ship; in this work he has attempted to give a complete and accurate history of the vessel and her voyages.

When I first heard that "The Wanderer of Liverpool" was a combination of poetry and prose, I hoped that Masefield had addressed himself to the problem that Coleridge and Poe defined many years ago, the problem of reconciling the brevity of the lyric impulse with the exigencies of a long narrative. I was disappointed. The book is essentially prose, adorned with some verses. There is no fusion of the two elements, no consistent adaptation of means to ends, no skilful leading of the

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reader from the plains of exposition to the heights of poetry. Indeed, few passages in the book, whether in prose or verse, are suffused with a genuinely poetic intensity.

The book begins with a careful matter-of-fact account of the ship and its construction. A section in verse called The Setting Forth follows, leading to a long and not uninteresting record in prose of the ship's ten voyages. The next passage repeats in verse the story of the last voyage and final disaster of the Wanderer. After the completion of the story proper, Mr. Masefield appends a group of related poems, including The Masque of Liverpool and fourteen lyrics.

The disappointment felt at Masefield's failure to attempt an ambitious and unified work would be somewhat mitigated if the verse sections were in themselves at all remarkable, but, as has been suggested, the spirit of historical exposition must have dominated the conception even of these passages. In The Setting Forth it is hard to find a line in which Masefield accomplishes an effect that could not have been accomplished by the prose of his most prosaic paragraph. In The Ending he does employ the rather effective conceit of having ships sunk in the past speak to the Wanderer as she passes over them, but his treatment lacks variety and imaginative reach. In both poems his irregular pentameters are harsh, and his use of alliteration is glaringly obvious. Most of the figures of speech are commonplace, many of them having been repeatedly used in the past by Masefield himself.

Only extensive quotation, for which there is no space, could clearly indicate the mediocrity of the two verse passages about the Wanderer. There are a few more distinguished passages in the appended lyrics, but not enough to save the book. The apparent major themes of the work are a somewhat Tennysonian faith in progress and a somewhat Conradian admiration for the virtues exhibited in the course of life at sea. Neither theme is given acute or vivifying treatment. The real force behind the book is, I should say, a kind of nostalgia, a feeling that the Wanderer once had a meaning that it no longer has. Masefield has tried to regain that heightening of the imaginative processes that the sight of the Wanderer once inspired, and he has achieved merely a detailed and tender history. It is a history that may well appeal to lovers of ships but is not likely to appeal to lovers of poetry.

GRANVILLE HICKS

World Economics

The World's Economic Dilemma. By Ernest Minor Patterson. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.50.

ECONOMIC interdependence today is world-wide, but economic organization is essentially national. The free movement of people and of goods necessary to economic welfare is thus checked and serious strains are set up, which serve as occasions of political friction and sometimes ultimately lead to war. Something like this is the thesis of Professor Patterson's book. The conception is in no way novel and the facts on which Mr. Patterson relies are by no means unknown to students, but the book brings together in convenient form a body of such facts that have not been assembled in quite this way hitherto. Population, natural resources, large-scale production, corporate organization, prices and markets in a money-making economy—all these features are considered in connection with figures of production, exports, and imports for Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States. The problem is that of "a competitive world organized on a national basis, a price economy, a fierce need for markets." And what to do about it? In his final three pages Mr. Patterson suggests commercial treaties, international trusts or cartels, organizations like financial consortiums and the International Chamber of Commerce, and the economic machinery of th League of Nations. It is not much in a world as full of co flict as that which Mr. Patterson pictures, and he can scarce blame his reader for wondering whether it will get us over th rough places if the world continues to be the habitat of th same acquisitive creatures endlessly hungry for more gooc whom he apparently accepts as the normal permanent denizer of this troubled planet. And I cannot forbear wonder at an serious discussion of international economics and possible solu tions of international economic problems in which even the nam of Russia does not occur.

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

A Neglected American

A Yankee Adventurer. By Holger Cahill. The Macaula Company. $3.50.

THE Taiping rebellion was one of the most extraordinar and remains one of the least known of those movement toward freedom on the part of oppressed population which have played so great a part in the history of the pas hundred and fifty years. In point of the number of person involved and the sum total of lives lost and property destroyed the French Revolution and the Italian movement toward national unity and freedom seem small affairs beside it. It shook one of the world's greatest empires for fourteen years and made inevitable the eventual downfall of Manchu dominion. Yet it is less known than some of the campaigns of Louis XIV or Frederick the Great.

Few Americans know that a Yankee adventurer named Ward did more than any other military leader to overthrow the Taiping armies. Ward created a disciplined force to resist the Taipings at a time when they were at the height of their power and when the Imperialists were occupied in a disastrous war with the French and British. He led that force in a succession of brilliant victories which saved Shanghai and made possible the careers of Li Hung Chang and the dowager Empress.

Few Englishmen know that Chinese Gordon commanded an army which Ward had organized and which Ward had seasoned in several extremely difficult and bloody campaigns. Gordon not only used the weapon Ward had forged and tempered; he faithfully imitated Ward's tactics and even his mannerisms of command.

Holger Cahill's competent and often vivid biography justifies itself by making real and understandable the life of a very brilliant and much-neglected American—a man who was born a Salem Yankee and is worshiped as a Confucian saint, who was thrown overboard by a mutinous crew off Cape Horn, and who died in the taking of Tsz-'ki as a mandarin of the Manchu empire and commander of the "ever-victorious army." Ward sailed as mate in the Westward Ho!; he fought with the French in the Crimea; he was a New York ship's broker, a Nicaraguan filibuster. At his death a temple was erected in his honor, sacrifices were made, incense was burned before memorial tablets setting forth his fame. No American or European was ever so greatly honored by the Chinese. No American of note has been more completely forgotten by his countrymen.

But the book does another sort of thing and that equally well. It furnishes a much-needed basis for understanding recent Chinese history. The Taiping rebellion was a great upsurging of nationalism and religious fervor. It was repressed with savage cruelty—a cruelty that insured the persistence of smoldering hatreds, not only against the Imperialists, but against the European allies of the Imperialists. The hatreds endured long after the religious fervor and most of the more

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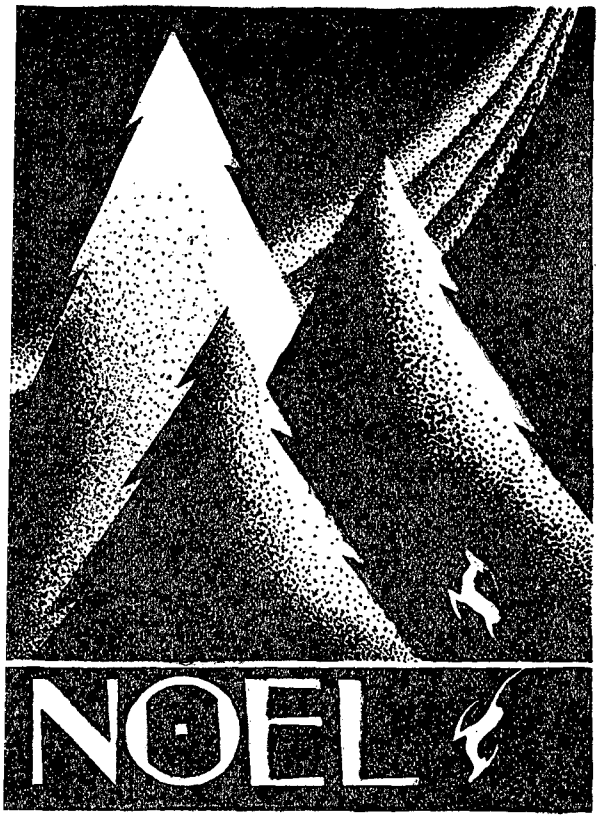

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idealistic elements in the nationalism had vanished. The Boxer disorders, the final overturn of the empire, the Communist rebellions, the recent conflicts between rival war lords—all were influenced by currents and cross-currents which had their sources in the gigantic uprising which Ward helped to crush. The children or grandchildren of Taipings inevitably played a part in all of the political turmoil of China's past thirty years. Certainly in one famous instance, and probably in many others, they were among the most conspicuous leaders.

Cahill's account of the origin and the nature of the rebel movement is surprisingly lucid and complete. His account of the Salem adventurer is more than merely adequate. He has not woven the two together into a unified book. History and biography interrupt and interfere with each other. But each is here more than ordinarily interesting and valuable for its own sake.

CHAPIN VALENTINE

Festival of Evil

From Toulouse-Lautrec to Rodin. By Arthur Symons. Alfred H. King. $4.

THE legend of Baudelaire with his hair dyed green has become a fixed star on the critical horizons of Mr. Arthur Symons. Here was an ideal—a poet with green hair. With this symbol one might, at a glance, convert a casual flirtation of a soda-fountain clerk with a stenographer eating a ham sandwich into a veritable flower of evil. Such a point of view may be of great satisfaction to Mr. Symons's critical appetite, but the results are often nothing less than a glorious parody of a state of mind that has been identified with Paris of the nineties.

Mr. Symons in his present book has given us a survey of a period that stands sorely in need of revaluation. Of the fourteen artists that Mr. Symons has selected as an outlet for his extraordinary commentaries upon evil and perversity, more than half are men who have chosen the graphic arts as an expression of a literary imagination. The principal figures are Toulouse-Lautrec, Aubrey Beardsley, and Auguste Rodin. Today these figures seem like ghosts from a distant past, all the more so because no adequate appraisal of their work has been written in English.

In a sense, Toulouse-Lautrec is the protagonist of Mr. Symons's latest festival of evil; most certainly Mr. Symons is justified in using him as a starting-point for further consideration of a period that runs parallel to a literary generation covered by William Butler Yeats in his "Autobiographies." There is perhaps no novelist of the period (excepting, of course, Marcel Proust) who has reflected the spirit of the time as accurately as Toulouse-Lautrec. Conditioned by his physical handicaps, for he was crippled hopelessly in early youth, Lautrec was something of a moralist. The Moulin Rouge was Lautrec's favorite studio. Yvette Guilbert was his perfect model. No detail of her personality escaped him. His lithographs comprise the story of her life. She was his symbol, his commentary upon a civilization that flowered at midnight in the glare of the footlights. To Mr. Symons, Lautrec's ironic bitterness rose from a need of genius to express itself almost exclusively in terms of evil. He is so eager to prove his thesis that he neglects an analysis of the technical brilliance that may be found in any one of Lautrec's remarkable compositions. Lautrec's sense of design was faultless; he mastered an art at which Beardsley was not much more than a promising novice.

Much of what Mr. Symons has to say about Auguste Rodin seems extraordinarily naive. "As Spinoza was drunk with divinity, so Rodin is drunk with life. In the ardor with which he embraces and begets life out of life he is with Shakespeare and Balzac." Evidently this essay was written some fifteen or twenty years ago. Mr. Symons has not taken the trouble to edit it for inclusion in this particular volume, nor has Mr. Symons's publisher supplied him with a necessary index. It is only when Mr. Symons is deliberately the spokesman of a lost generation, as in the case of Aubrey Beardsley, that his book becomes a convincing historical document. Here there is no effort to maintain a critical attitude; Mr. Symons is off guard and quite at his best in erecting a memorial to one of his dearest friends.

HORACE GREGORY

Notes on Fiction

Bridal Pond. By Zona Gale. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

Miss Gale knows how to write short stories, but she evidently does not know how to arrange them. In the present volume the weakest, the most conventional, the least interesting stories are placed first, and only a pertinacious reviewer gets through them to the meat and bread that are honestly there. For this is meat and bread, the homely arts of the village, the trivial occupations, the ordinary, everyday behavior of men and women—mostly women—who have almost no intellectual occupation but only hands and feet to perform common tasks. Not is this characterization intended as the least disparagement of Miss Gale's art. It is a minor art, but expert and complete. It makes an important human event of a bread recipe; it endows a cobweb with weight and substance. In the title story, which was included in the collection of O. Henry prize stories for 1928, Miss Gale has penetrated a little farther into the depths of behavior and motivation. The description, by her husband to whom she had been twenty-five years married, of an imagined—because subconsciously long desired—death of a bride on her wedding night, is more than touching and true. It approaches tragedy.

Salome, the Wandering Jewess. By George Sylvester Viereck and Paul Eldridge. Horace Liveright. $2.50.

There is no reason why a woman condemned to wander the earth for two thousand years should not be an interesting character, or her wanderings make amusing reading. Novels and plays about perpetual youth, however, never fully realize what one might expect from them. Possibly this is due to the fact that the characters are always meeting with too-famous historical personages; or possibly, to the general paucity of their authors' imagination. "Salome," in general, is no exception, but in spots the book is entertaining and rewarding. The Pope Joan episode, in particular, manages to achieve distinction. But "Salome" is not nearly so exciting as Rider Haggard's "She"; though the inclusiveness of the Wandering Jewess's affections is much greater than that of the ancient but proper She. Unfortunately, the feminist interests of Salome compel her to indulge in lengthy and dull comments on the plight of women. These serve no other purpose than to impede her progress from one male or female lover to another; and to get over the centuries. If the authors had seen fit to omit the sententiousness and the amazing-story ending, the book could have been very amusing. Certainly it would have been considerably shorter.

The Fifth Son of the Shoemaker. By Donald Corley. Robert M. McBride and Company. $2.

"The Fifth Son of the Shoemaker" is, according to the jacket, "a beguiling legend of New York." It is also a cheerful book, so cheerful that it hurts, and so over-written that it hurts even more. "She was a pale lovely girl as reticent as a thrush in a thicket, with dark hair with purple lights in it, and eyes

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te a wounded doe's." The characters, all of them, have large, autiful souls that are tortured now and again, and the style hoes the sobs in their Slavic throats. Vaguely, the story deals ith a shoemaker who makes beautiful shoes for beautiful dies, and his youngest son, who writes beautiful rhapsodies d falls in love with a beautiful girl (rich) whose name is ndy. The old shoemaker is called *maestro* by the various ady Bountifuls in the story, and is bewildered by Sordid Commercialism. But Beauty, like murder, will out, and the book ds. It is more or less impossible to know why such books as is one have to be written, unless it is to appeal to those for hom Pollyanna is not enough.

laudine at School. By Colette and Willy. Albert and Charles Boni. $2.50.

Mme Colette became famous in France through recounting r adventures as a schoolgirl in this initial volume of hers, hich has now been translated to follow her American ccess with "Cheri." It is a story that was more familiar to ir Victorian parents than it is to ourselves—the story of an corrigible and witty cut-up who terrorizes the classroom and ives her teacher to despair. Mme Colette, however, has troduced a characteristically twentieth-century motive which d not occur to our Victorian parents; she has represented her fteen-year-old Claudine as the rival of her teacher, Mlle rgent, in a Lesbian love affair. Both teacher and pupil dere the favors of a pretty student assistant whose name is imée. Mlle Sergent is the victor in this instance; Claudine in very other. In the end, after every verbal triumph that even female heart could desire, she has the satisfaction of seeing r rival in utter disgrace. But the chief interest of the reader not in the story but in its heroine's *répliques*. Every word om Claudine's mouth is so witty and so crushing that Whistler o doubt would have been willing to have it ascribed to him. hough her portrait is somewhat marred because she is obliged y her creator to say so much that is flattering to herself, she nevertheless a brilliant and amusing little terror.

Mirthful Haven. By Booth Tarkington. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.

When he wrote "Alice Adams" Mr. Tarkington had what itics and the reading public decided was a capital idea for a lot, that of the poor little girl who, torn between her natural ssociations and her desire to captivate a rich young man, prended she was socially more highly placed than she actually as—and was betrayed by her own pretending. Since it worked nce so well, perhaps the author cannot be blamed for trying it nce more, but this time with considerably less success. The oor little poor girl is in "Mirthful Haven," the rich young an is there, and the struggle between the girl's own life as ie daughter of a Maine fisherman and the ladified city charac r she has acquired by going to a finishing school. But the onesty, the sincerity, the clear-sightedness are gone. Edna elter is a book heroine, too "fine" for the summer colonists, o beautiful for the fisher folk, too fundamentally pure and ght-minded to be sullied by the irresponsibilities of her father nd his disorderly housekeeping. Her father is a down-East alawag with a heart of gold; the old sea captain with a house ll of expensive antiques who, by marrying her, saves her from ie fate of an unprotected young maiden in the town in which he was born and brought up is the noblest and kindest and isest of them all. Authentic, behind all this trumpery, stand ut the Maine fishermen and the Maine fishing village and the estless ocean. But their parts in the romance are minor.

Mr. Heywood Broun's articles on the drama will be resumed in next week's issue.

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Films

The Wages of Talent

IT is an old complaint that Hollywood kills talent, kills because huge, soulless organizations can neither tolera talent nor understand it. The fact has been made famili to us by the fate of several foreign and American actors ar directors who went to Hollywood with the reputation of di tinguished artists. It would be an exaggeration to say that a of them have been crushed by the machine, but happy exceptio undeniably have been very few. Perhaps Serghei Eisenstei the cancellation of whose contract with the Paramount Com pany has recently been announced, should thank the gods fo escaping with his skin; the intelligent public, however, cann but feel disappointed at the blasting of its hopes for highe standards of art from Hollywood as the result of Eisenstein vitalizing influence.

If in the case of Eisenstein one suspects consideratio other than artistic to have been the cause of his retirement, tw other instances of the neglect of talent that are revealed in tw recent films must be ascribed wholly to artistic ignorance ar crass commercialism. "Kismet" (Hollywood), with Ot Skinner in the principal role, illustrates the blight of ignoranc One recalls a highly symbolic little episode that occurred in th same Hollywood Theater a few months earlier. A short filr was shown as one of the opening items on the program. I commemorated the silver anniversary of the cinematic activitie of Messrs. Warner Brothers, and a galaxy of the company' stars was gathered for the occasion around a horseshoe tabl and introduced to the audience. What with the stellar smile and occasional songs and the general splendor of the surround ings, the scene undoubtedly was very impressive, if rather dull The fly in the ointment was the intolerably bright little girl appropriately called "Miss Vitaphone," who did the introducing But the unintended symbolism of the scene was revealed else where. The *unannounced* old gentleman who opened the pro ceedings by introducing the impossible child was none othe than Mr. Otis Skinner himself. Somehow one cannot hel feeling that in his present film, "Kismet," Mr. Skinner has bee served by his producers with as little respect for his talent a he was in that affair of the celebration. One would hav thought that the presence of an actor of Mr. Skinner's attain ments would have inspired the producers and directors with th desire to second his imaginative effort. They might have re membered, for instance, that the stage play, second-rat pastiche that it was, had swing and vigor that sprang from it color, from its exaggerated action, from its grotesque character ization. Because of that it showed speed even on the slow moving stage. But the only trace of color to be found in th film is that preserved in the contrasts and resourceful virtu osity of Mr. Skinner's acting. With its slow and even tempo with its lack of color and contrast, the film represents no mor than a humdrum display of Hollywood's Oriental lore, and fail miserably to bring into relief Mr. Skinner's beautiful dictio and masterful technique.

"The Playboy of Paris" (Paramount), featuring Maurice Chevalier, is another instance of indifference to talent. Tha the picture is amusing in its crude way and is a great box-offic success should not blind us to the fact that we are actuall witnessing the burial of a very gifted artist with an effervescen and impish personality under the weight of the obvious banalitie of juvenile comedy. M. Chevalier is being Americanized, Hol lywood style, and if this goes on a little longer there will be n Maurice Chevalier left.

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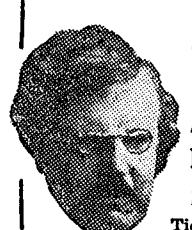

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FILMS

Is It Love? (Italian)—Eighth St. Playhouse—52 W. Eighth St.
News Reel—Embassy—B'way and 46 St.
Outward Bound—Warner—B'way and 52 St.
Zwei Herzen Im 3-4 Takt (German Film)—55 St. Playhouse.
A Mediterranean Cruise—Fifth Avenue Playhouse—66 Fifth Ave.
All Quiet on the Western Front, beginning Saturday, Nov. 22; Africa Speaks, beginning Wednesday, Nov. 26—Little Carnegie Playhouse—57 St., E. of Seventh Ave.
Virtuous Sin, beginning Saturday, Nov. 22; Africa Speaks, beginning Wednesday, Nov. 26—Plaza—58 St. E. of Madison Ave.

DISCUSSION AND LECTURES

"Is Divorce a Social Asset?"—Mecca Temple—55 St., E. of Seventh Ave. Sunday, Nov. 23, at 8:30.
"Can Law Make Us Good?" by Channing Pollock—Auditorium—150 W. 85 St., Tuesday, Nov. 25, at 8:30.
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Progress or Slavery?

THE following article on the relationship of natives and whites in South and East Africa, particularly in Kenya and Rhodesia, was written by Miss Winifred Holtby for the English *New Leader* of October 3. Miss Holtby writes with direct knowledge, having made a study of the question while resident in South Africa.

Two years ago few fairy stories would have seemed more fantastic than the report that the British settlers of Kenya and Rhodesia were appealing to the Dutch Premier of South Africa for support against the imperial government. But history has taught us that in the face of common danger lion and lamb lie down together, and a situation has arisen in which we may expect to see the European lions and lambs of South and East Africa lying together with remarkable unanimity.

The cause of the trouble was the publication last June of the two British White Papers containing proposals for closer union in East Africa and a memorandum on native policy. The documents themselves, so far as they concern the treatment of the native peoples, reaffirm traditional British policy. Both restate the declaration of 1923 that "primarily Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount." Perhaps "paramount" was an unfortunate word, since it gives a suggestion of privilege, and all that the African peoples really want or need is equality of status, similar to that given to the black population of Jamaica. Actually, the regulations under which the treatment of blacks differs from that accorded to whites in the papers amount rather to disability than to privilege, though there are several most valuable principles established, such as security of land tenure, equitable taxation, educational advances, and the ultimate desirability of a common electoral roll. These are far in advance of present practice, and though documents alone cannot maintain justice, a clear statement of principle can become a charter of rights.

It is this statement of policy which has united the once antagonistic elements of the "white aristocracy." On September 8 the elected members of the Northern Rhodesian legislature published a protest in which they declared that the settlers had honorably fulfilled their trusteeship toward the natives, that "uninformed or misinformed" interference was resented, and that if the imperial policy was not modified "those who still desire to remain in this territory will contemplate political relationships under which equality of treatment of whites with natives will be justly maintained." Friends of the natives will do well to remember that phrase, "equality of treatment."

South Africa agrees. General Hertzog has received a deputation from Kenya with unfeigned sympathy, and has declared that native policy in Africa is a matter of vital concern to his government. "In the interest of harmonious imperial relations it is necessary that South Africa's views should be heard and given consideration," and he hopes to have the opportunity of discussing the matter with the imperial government. His Minister of Public Lands, Mr. Groebler, goes even farther. Speaking at Pretoria on September 17 he declared: "We deny that any European nation, England included, has the right to act anywhere in Africa in conflict with our ideals."

The Convention of Associations in Kenya has sent a deputation, headed by Lord Delamere, to protest against the British policy at the Imperial Conference. The deputation is really unofficial, but Sir Edward Grigg, the retiring Governor, has made no secret of his sympathy with the settlers—"a very sound, g gallant, very misrepresented people, my people"—and it is e dent that his voice will be added to the chorus of protest agai the policy which conflicts thus with South African ideals.

And what is the South African ideal which arouses su enthusiasm? To be understood it must be remembered in connection with the old African tradition of slavery and wi the belief of the white trekkers from the Cape, who thought themselves as the Chosen People taking possession of the Pro ised Land, from which they had the divine mandate to dri Hittite and Hivite, "to utterly destroy" them, or to make them hewers of wood and drawers of water forevermore. T doctrine of inequality between blacks and whites has beco with their descendants almost a religious principle, and the ma intention of South African policy was outlined in Mr. Groeble speech when he said: "We refuse to consider equality or t forcing of Western European administration on the natives as solution of the native question. We reserve the right to prot within our own country the future of white posterity. We a convinced that in segregation in all directions we shall find salv tion for both races."

Since General Hertzog now believes in a united front the African question, we need no longer be debarred by delica from discussing exactly what this policy means. Segregation a vague and pleasant word; but its practical consequences a perfectly definite and utterly unpleasant for the peoples on bot sides of the separating barrier. For those on top, it means fruitless privilege resulting in intellectual stagnation and ec nomic insecurity. For those underneath, it means a form unacknowledged slavery.

Territorial segregation means a repetition of the inclosur policy seen in England during the sixteenth and nineteenth cen turies. All South African statistics concerning native affai are unreliable, but at present the white population of abo 1,500,000 holds about 280,000,000 acres of land, while 4,700,00 natives hold about 20,000,000 acres. Natives are not allowe to buy or hire land, except in certain scheduled areas, witho special permission of the Governor General; thus they not onl hold less than a tenth as much land as the whites, though the are four times as numerous, but their land on the whole poorer. Consequently, each year more and more natives ar driven to seek employment in the towns, thus swelling the bod of cheap unskilled labor.

Economic segregation is rather different. It consists compelling the native to work for Europeans while keeping hi out of skilled trades and paying him rates amounting to abou one-sixth of the standard white wage. Insecurity of land tenur is only one method. There is taxation. The Minister of Jus tice has just introduced a new bill making any adult male nativ in the Transvaal liable to a tax of £5 unless he can prove tha he has worked for Europeans for at least three months in th year. Though the color-bar policy, inaugurated in 1925, is no yet completely matured, it is proving increasingly useful. O August 30 of this year the government published a novel pla for dealing with white unemployment—a serious problem i South Africa—by turning natives out of industry, replacing then by poor whites, and subsidizing the employers for the differenc in wages. . . .

Legal segregation means inequality before the law, so tha natives and white men are treated very differently in the courts The conciliation and labor laws affecting white employment d not apply to the black man, whose labor is controlled by th

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asters and Servants Acts and Labor Regulation Acts, which ıke breaches of contract by black, but not by white, men a ıal offense. Daily life and normal movement are rendered nost intolerable by the pass laws. Collective bargaining can rdly escape from becoming "conspiracy to break the law." eedom of speech is curtailed by a savage Sedition Act, and the tive lives under the constant menace of arrest for "crimes" ıich the state of the law renders almost inevitable. Frequent ıvictions, however, are a convenience to the white employer, :, according to regulations issued by the Director of Prisons t January, he can hire gangs of "not less than twenty-five" ıck convicts to work on his farm at the rate of 1s. 6d. each lay, or 1s. each if food and accommodation are supplied.

As for political segregation, that is to be accomplished by ɔriving the Cape native of the parliamentary vote which he s exercised since 1853, shutting off the natives from all ect share in the body politic, and establishing instead Native ıuncils which will have no real legislative authority.

If this system seems bad, it is at least not .nique. The :atment of natives in Kenya and Uganda has been mitigated the authority of the Colonial Office and by the action of few disinterested civil servants. But the two notable studies Kenya by Dr. Norman Leys and Mr. McGregor Ross have own that in that country at least the imperial principle of aramountcy" is anything but an established policy. It seems though no privileged minority can be trusted to treat with cency a subject class, sex, or race.

The "United Africa" enthusiasts for a common policy are ing to lobby against the British White Papers during the ıperial Conference. They will bring all possible pressure to ar upon the Joint Parliamentary Committee which is to ex- ıine the policy of the government during the autumn. It is gh time that the British public realized what is taking place.

Quite apart from any concern for the honor of our imperial vernment, a concern which can be felt by the opponents as :ll as the supporters of imperialism, we dare not let the gregationists have their way. Their victory would mean the :eation of a pool of cheap and helpless labor, which in these ys of floating capital and international combines would be a ıstant menace to those workers who are trying to maintain decent standard of living. It would mean protracted stagna- n of the African market, which under a progressive policy ght develop into one of our best customers. It would mean embitterment of more than fifty million people, who must vitably one day learn how to use the weapons which civiliza- n has forged and exact a terrible revenge; for the "United ont" does not mean real union in Africa, it means perma- ıt and growing division from the native peoples.

We in Great Britain, as well as the South African govern- nt, feel a responsibility toward posterity. We must act ore the Joint Committee has published its decisions, for we e not face the consequences of an Africa enslaved.

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Tuesday, Nov. 25
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Monday, Nov. 24
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"Musical Procedures: (2) Change."

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"Mass and Force: Newton and his Later-I
Critics."

Thursday, Nov. 27
No meeting.

Saturday, Nov. 29
DR. RICHARD MCKEON
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